Vol. XXXVI. No. 144 *December 1947*

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

I. Strikes and the Labour Court .... *Cornelius Lucey*

II. Comments on the Foregoing Article
Michael Tierney, George O'Brien, Michael Hayes

III. Irish Swordsmen in Flanders .... *Brendan Jennings*

IV. Electron Wizardry .... *P. J. MacLaughlin*

V. Madame de Maintenon .... *John Leonard*

VI. Irish Missionaries in Liberia .... *Helena Concannon*

VII. Some Picturesque Philosophers .... *Arthur Little*

VIII. Irish Bardic Poems—No. 84 .... *Lambert MacKenna*

IX. Missionary Sisters of St. Columban *Margaret L. Fairbairn*

X. Birds of the Countryside .... *P. G. Kennedy*

XI. The Church in Mauritius .... *Charlotte M. Kelly*

XII. Dictionary of Irishmen in France .... *Richard Hayes*

XIII. The Russian Idea .... *Christopher Hollis*

XIV. Reviews of Books

Dublin—The Educational Company of Ireland Limited
London and St. Louis—B. Herder
Melbourne—William P. Linehan

Editorial Offices: 35 Lower Leeson Street, Dublin

Single Copies - - - - 3s. 6d. net
Annual Subscription, post free to all countries, 15s. net
Subscriptions are payable in advance

Entered as Second Class Matter at the Post Office in St. Louis.

Coláiste na hOllscoile, Gaillimh

Tá Cúrsaí iomlána i nGaeilge le fagáil sa gColáiste seo ar Laidin, Greigis, Riomhaireacht, Tíreolaíocht, Staidreamh, Seandálaíocht, Tráchtáil, Cuntasaíocht, Geilleagar, Oideachas agus Fisic Thurgnamhach.

Tá Cúrsaí iomlána i mBéarla le fagáil sa gColáiste seo ar gach Dáimh léiginn dá mbaineann le hollscoil Náisiúnta na hÉireann.

Tairgeann an Coláiste Scoláireachta coitcheannta ar fiú £1,000 sa mbliadain agus ten a choir sin cuirtear £1,000 i n-airgead, gach bliadain, le hagaidh Scoláireacht do Gaeilgeoiri ar an nGaedhealtacht.

Tairgeann an Roinn Oideachais Roinnt Scoláireacht gach bliadain, le hagaidh Gaeilgeoir ar an nGaedhealtacht. Is fiú £110 an bliadain gach ceann aca. Na Micléiginn ar a mbronnfar na Scoláireachta seo, ní mór dóib a bheit 'na Mic-léiginn sa gColáiste seo.

Tá gach caoi agus deis ann le labhairt na Gaeilge do chleachtadh taobh istigh agus taobh amuigh den Choláiste.

Tuilleamh eolais le fagáil ó Meadhánaidhe an Choláiste.

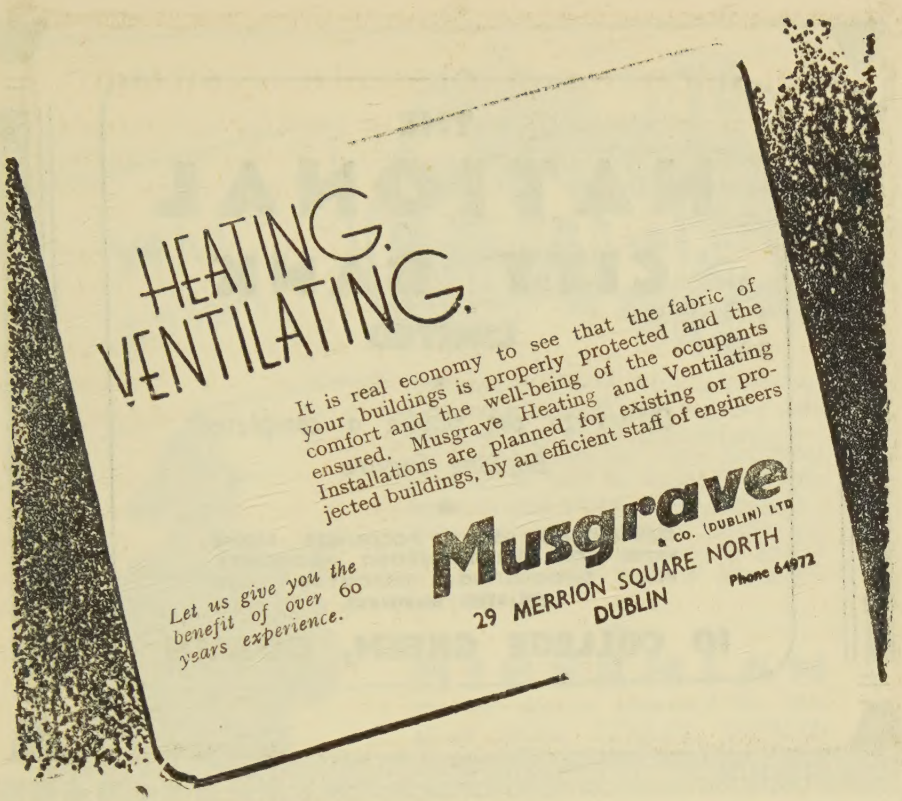
PROVIDENCE WOOLLEN MILLS

FOXFORD, CO. MAYO, IRELAND

Offer the greatest variety of pure woollen goods ever produced by an Irish mill–viz. Blankets, Rugs, Ladies' and Men's Wear, Scarves, etc.

INQUIRIES SOLICITED

Telephone No.: "Foxford 4."
Telegraphic Address: "Providence, Foxford."


HEATING.
VENTILATING.
It is real economy to see that the fabric of your buildings is properly protected and the comfort and the well-being of the occupants ensured. Musgrave Heating and Ventilating Installations are planned for existing or projected buildings, by an efficient staff of engineers
Let us give you the benefit of over 60 years experience.
Musgrave
& CO. (DUBLIN) LTD
29 MERRION SQUARE NORTH
DUBLIN
Phone 64972

Coláiste Ollscoile, Corcaigh.

(Ollscoil na h-Éireann)

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, CORK.

Lán-chúrsaí i gCóip Céimeann agus Dioplómaí inr na h-aonbhaile seo:—

Arts	*Celtic Studies*	*Medicine*	*Dentistry*
Science	*Law*	*Education*	*Commerce*
	Engineering	*Dairy Science*	*Music*

Is féidir Cúrsaí Aimsire do dhéanamh thé Gaeilg.

Chun lán-eolas an Scoláireachtaí agus an Chúrsaí d'fhágáil, ní foláir gach leictir do feóladh chun an CLÁRADÓRA.

Oifigeach compóirdeach le fágáil ran **HONAN HOSTEL** ag fearaibh Caitliceacha agus i **LA RETRAITE** ag mnáibh Caitliceacha. Tuairisc iomlán orthu ran le fágáil ó'n gCoimeádaidhe agus ó'n Abbmáthair fé seach. Is féidir fheisin liosta de lóistinibh ceadaighthe d'fhágáil ach a long ó Rúnaidhe an Choláiste.

Some Courses can be taken through the medium of Irish.

For particulars as to Scholarships and Courses all communications should be addressed to the **Registrar.**

Comfortable accommodation is provided for Catholic men in the HONAN HOSTEL and for Catholic women in LA RETRAITE. Particulars may be obtained from the **Warden** and **Rev. Superioress** respectively. A list of approved Lodgings can also be had from the **Secretary** of the College.

THE

NATIONAL CITY BANK

LIMITED

•

Offers to the public a complete Banking Service

•

CURRENT AND DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS. HOME SAFES FOR THRIFT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS. BILLS DISCOUNTED. EXECUTOR AND TRUSTEE BUSINESS.

10 COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN

THE

PATRIOTIC Assurance Company Ltd.

FIRE, ACCIDENT, WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION, BURGLARY, PLATE GLASS, MOTOR, &c., &c.

Registered and Head Office **9 College Green, DUBLIN, C1**

CAPITAL FULLY PAID £150,000

DIRECTORS

THOMAS GEOGHEGAN, Esq., F.C.A., Chairman
Rt. Hon. EARL OF WICKLOW
Major T. D. HALLINAN
F. CYRIL MARTIN
GEO. W. VERDON Esq., Managing Director
T. H. CORRIGAN, Secretary

Low Rates of Premium and prompt and liberal Settlement of Claims

The position of the Company is amply secured independent of Capital

Proposal Form and all Information on application to Company's Agents or to the Company

This could be YOUR house. Little things neglected often result in big tragedies ; and fires arise from most unexpected sources—and at most unexpected times. Are YOU prepared for such an eventuality? Or would its occurrence ruin you financially? Save yourself unnecessary trouble and worry by insuring your property with a company of sound financial standing—an Irish Office

The

HIBERNIAN

FIRE AND GENERAL INSURANCE CO., LTD.

46-49 *DAME STREET, DUBLIN*

O'Keeffe's

THE NATIONAL BANK

LIMITED

ESTABLISHED 1835

34 COLLEGE GREEN
DUBLIN

CAPITAL £7,500,000.

13 OLD BROAD STREET
LONDON, E.C.2

EXECUTOR and TRUSTEE

Appointments accepted as Executor and Trustee of Wills, Trustee of Settlements, Trustee for Debenture Holders, etc. The Bank will act jointly with another Executor or Trustee if desired and will have regard to the wishes of customers in the employment of Solicitors and other professional agents.

INCOME TAX

Expert attention given to Repayment Claims, Returns for Assessment, etc.

FULL INFORMATION MAY BE OBTAINED FROM ANY BRANCH OF THE BANK OR BY DIRECT APPLICATION TO ITS PRINCIPAL OFFICES

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Incorporated in Ireland

ESTABLISHED 1825

CAPITAL subscribed	...	**£2,000,000**
Paid-up	...	**£500,000**
RESERVE FUND	...	**£750,000**

HEAD OFFICE

COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN

SEVEN DUBLIN BRANCHES

Over One Hundred Branches and Sub-Branches throughout Ireland

The Bank undertakes the Recovery and Adjustment of INCOME TAX

The Bank also undertakes the Offices of EXECUTOR AND TRUSTEE

LONDON AGENTS

LLOYDS BANK LTD., 72 LOMBARD ST., LONDON, E.C.3.

BOOKS for Everybody!

FICTION

The Golden Coast	by	PHILIP ROONEY	**8s. 6d.** net
My Bonny's Away	,,	TEMPLE LANE	**8s. 6d.** net
Who Goes Home ?	,,	KATHERINE KEANE	**8s. 6d.** net

HUMOUR

It Stance to Reason—The Intelligent Rabbit's Guide to Golf — J. D. SHERIDAN — **5s. 0d.** net

BIOGRAPHY

Eamon de Valera. New enlarged and illustrated edition (1947) — M. J. MACMANUS — **7s. 6d.** net

HISTORICAL

James Fintan Lalor. Collected Writings, with a Biographical Note by L. FOGARTY, M.A. New and enlarged edition (1947) — **6s. 0d.** net

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

The Rocky Road to Dublin by SEAMUS MACMANUS **9s. 6d.** net

CHILDREN

Danny Puffin	(9-11 years) by	MARY FLYNN	**5s. 0d.** net
Cornelius Rabbit of Tang	(,,) ,,	MARY FLYNN	**6s. 0d.** net
Cornelius on Holidays	(,,) ,,	MARY FLYNN	**6s. 0d.** net
Cornelius in Charge	(,,) ,,	MARY FLYNN	**6s. 0d.** net
The Adventures of Jum	(5-8 years) ,,	K. EAGAR	**2s. 6d.** net

These books for children are illustrated by Eileen Coghlan, and Catalogue giving full description of each title can be supplied on application.

SPORT

Echoes of the Hunting Horn by STANISLAUS LYNCH **7s. 6d.** net

ESSAYS

Essays and Recollections	by	SEAMUS O'SULLIVAN	**5s. 0d.** net
The Rose and Bottle	,,	SEAMUS O'SULLIVAN	**5s. 0d.** net

Although there are restrictions on bulk imports into Great Britain and Northern Ireland, your Bookseller will post single copies to any address.

THE TALBOT PRESS LIMITED

DUBLIN AND CORK

UNIVERSITY HALL, DUBLIN

FOUNDED AND DIRECTED BY THE JESUIT FATHERS

University Hall is maintained exclusively as an academic residence for students who are pursuing their studies in University College, Dublin. The buildings stand close by the site of University College. They can accommodate seventy students—an academic community sufficiently large to furnish opportunity for the mutual culture in social intercourse which is among the most important advantages of university life and is an essential factor in university education.

TERMS

There are three Terms in the year: Michaelmas Term, from the beginning of the Session till the Christmas Vacation; Hilary Term, between Christmas and Easter; and Trinity Term, from Easter till the Summer Vacation. The opening and close of Terms coincide with the opening and close of Lectures at University College, Dublin.

Parents residing abroad can make special arrangements for Students' vacation expenses.

Applications for admission and inquiries for Fees and further information should be addressed to THE PRESIDENT
University Hall, DUBLIN

LORETO HALL

77 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin

Loreto Hall is a recognised House of Residence for Women Students attending the Lectures of University College, Dublin. Chapel attached. Daily Mass, Annual Retreat. The Terms include Tuition by Resident Staff. Ideal situation in close vicinity to University College.

For Prospectus apply to THE PRINCIPAL

Some Recent Publications

DESIRE FOR GOD

by PATRICK BASTABLE, M.A., PH.D.

Has man a natural desire to see God ? Is the beatific vision necessary for human beatitude ? Are souls in Limbo completely happy ? Father Bastable's work is the fruit of scholarly research on the problem of human beatitude. It consists of two parts. The first part is an analysis and answer to the above questions and an exegesis of St. Thomas' teaching. The second part is a critical survey of Catholic thought down to the present day. In form and in style, the book is eminently readable.

Demy 8vo. *Cloth.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

TWO WAYS OF LIFE

by F. SHERWOOD TAYLOR.

The Curator of the Science Museum at Oxford maintains that Science is not enough, and defends the Catholic philosophy of life.

Crown 8vo. 112 *pp.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

THE HOLY RULE FOR LAYMEN

by T. F. LINDSAY.

This commentary on St. Benedict's Holy Rule, written by a layman for laymen, is intended to illustrate how closely and fruitfully this great spiritual treasure can be applied to life in the modern world.

Cap. 8vo. 160 *pp.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

THE SPEAR OF GOLD

An Anthology of Mystical texts, containing over 300 quotations from the earliest times to the present day.

Large Crown 8vo. 386 *pp.* 16*s.*

SALT OF THE EARTH

by REV. S. M. SHAW.

A spiritual book for young priests faced with the inevitable difficulties of parish life.

Crown 8vo. 8*s.* 6*d.*

THE KINGDOM OF PROMISE

by R. A. DYSON, S.J., S.T.D., L.S.S. & A. JONES, S.T.L., L.S.S.

A guide to the Old Testament; the latest addition to the Scripture Textbook series.

Crown 8vo. 144 *pp.* & 5 *maps.* 6*s.* 6*d.*

The Complete Works of St. John of the Cross

A new edition of Professor E. Allison Peers' standard translation of one of the greatest of Catholic mystics. (Supplies limited)

Demy 8vo. 3 *volumes* 3 *guineas the set.*

BURNS OATES & WASHBOURNE

22 D'OLIER ST., DUBLIN AND ALL BOOKSELLERS

THE
CLARENCE HOTEL

The
City's Most Modern Hotel

WELLINGTON QUAY
DUBLIN

Telephone : 76178 - 79 - 80

O'KEEFFE'S

THE PRACTICAL SCHOOL
CONVENT OF ST. LOUIS
RAMSGRANGE, WATERFORD

Under Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction

THE SCHOOL FOR FARMERS' DAUGHTERS

TRAINED AND SPECIALLY QUALIFIED TEACHERS APPOINTED AND PAID BY DEPARTMENT.
THIRTY FREE PLACES AVAILABLE EVERY YEAR, GRANTED BY DEPARTMENT.

PRACTICAL INSTRUCTION IN MILKING, DAIRYING, POULTRY-KEEPING, COOKERY, DRESSMAKING, HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY, LAUNDRY WORK, HORTICULTURE.

Full Particulars from THE SISTER IN CHARGE

FURNITURE
. *of* .
DISTINCTION

NEW, SECOND-HAND, ANTIQUE
AT MOST MODERATE PRICES

LAWLOR, BRISCOE & CO. Ltd.
M.I.A.A.
34 & 35 LOWER ORMOND QUAY
DUBLIN

MODEL 15A

We proudly present the Pye 15A, the new wonder radio all-mains receiver. Equipped with Fly-wheel Tuning, Pye Tonemaster and an amazing coil giving maximum signal strength. This truly unique Pye has been achieved through painstaking research, efficient production and a generous low-profit policy and is offered to you at the extremely low price of £17 17 0

PYE (IRELAND) LIMITED

Manor Works, Dundrum, Co. Dublin

TWO OUTSTANDING IRISH AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

Fé Bhrat an Chonnarta

PEADAR Ó hANNRACHÁIN

6s. NET.

"Molaim don ghnáth-léightheoir an leabhar seo fhagháil . . . . . Tá mion-eolas ann ar obair na dtimthirí agus céad-oibridhthe an Chonnartha nach bhfuil le fagháil áit ar bith eile."

—Comhar.

"'Fé Bhrat an Chonnartha' is one of the best books we have had from 'An Gúm.'"

—Waterford News.

mo Bealach Féin

SEOSAMH MAC GRIANNA

3s. NET.

"Seosamh MacGrianna is to my mind the greatest Irish writer of to-day . . . At one moment he is a Leon Bloy, stricken with a love of mankind, and railing against social stupidity. The next moment he is a Swift, burdened with human bitterness. He has shown what a master can do with one of the richest languages of Europe."

Irish Press.

Obtainable through any bookseller, or direct from

FOILSEACHÁIN RIALTAIS

3-4, SRÁID AN CHOLÁISTE, BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH

AN GÚM

THE IRISH

TATLER

AND

SKETCH

(Established 1890)

IRELAND'S PREMIER SOCIAL MONTHLY

Contains articles by experts on Social matters, Art, Fashions of the Hour, Beauty, Golf, Motoring, Theatre, Cinema, etc., etc.

LAVISHLY ILLUSTRATED

From All Newsagents - - Price 1/-

12 months post free - - „ 14/-

Publishers

WILSON, HARTNELL and CO. LTD.

COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS, DUBLIN

Phone : 78551 'Grams : Hartnell, Dublin

IRISH MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION

✦✦✦✦✦✦

Calendar of Ormond Deeds. Vol. VI., 1584-1608. Edmund Curtis. Being the Mediaeval Documents preserved at Kilkenny Castle .... £1 1s. 0d.

The Chronicle of Ireland, 1584-1608. Sir James Perrot. An account of the customs and habits of the Irish and events of the period .... 12s. 6d.

Irish Monastic Possessions, Extents of. Newport B. White .... £1 1s. 0d.

Calendar of Orrery Papers. E. MacLysaght, M.A. Relates to the period from the Restoration to the outbreak of the Williamite War .... £1 1s. 0d.

Civil Survey. Vol. VII. 1654. R. C. Simington. Dublin County. £2 2s. 0d.

A Census of Ireland, c. 1659. S. Pender, M.A. From the MS. preserved in the Library of the Marquess of Lansdowne £2 2s. 0d.

The Tanner Letters. Ed. C. McNeill. Documents of Irish concern included in the great manuscript collection of Dr. Tanner, Bishop of St. Asaph, 1732-35 £2 2s. 0d.

Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum. Vol. I. R. A. S. Macalister .... £2 2s. 0d.

Catechismus of Theobald Stapleton. Reproduction of an Irish-Latin Catechism published in Brussels, 1639 15/-

The Shapland Carew Papers. A. R. Longfield, M.A. Rentals, Accounts and other papers of Carew family. 17th-18th century 15/-

Parliaments and Councils of Ireland. Vol. I. Edited by H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles. .... £1 5s. 0d.

Dublin :
Published by the Stationery Office

To be purchased from the
GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS SALES OFFICE, 3 & 4 COLLEGE STREET, DUBLIN
or through any bookseller.

The Irish Messenger of the Sacred Heart

Published Monthly. Price 2d. by Post 2½d.

Annual Subscription 2s., 6d. Post Free.

MADONNA

Published Monthly. Price 1d. by Post 1½d.

Annual Subscription 1s. 6d., Post Free.

timéire an croide naomta

Published Quarterly. Price 2d., by Post 2½d.

Annual Subscription 10d., Post Free.

Annual Subscription to MESSENGER and MADONNA when sent together 4s. Post Free

The Catalogue will be sent gratis and Post Free on request

OFFICE OF THE IRISH MESSENGER

5 GREAT DENMARK STREET, DUBLIN

Stained Glass Artists
Sculptors
Church Decorators

EARLEY & CO.

Camden Art Studios

UPPER CAMDEN STREET
DUBLIN

TELEPHONE 51303 ESTABLISHED 100 YEARS

The
Catholic Charities Review

A Monthly Magazine which discusses the Facts, Problems and Methods of Charity and Related Social Questions.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION FIVE SHILLINGS

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON, D.C., U.S.A.

The Irish Digest

¶ The Irish Digest presents each month a pageant of Irish life and Irish ideals, brightly condensed from the best that is being written in books and periodicals at home and abroad, by Irish writers or about Ireland.

¶ *Here is a Digest with a difference. Send it to your friends and relatives abroad.*

¶ SUBSCRIPTION RATES
1 year, 12/6, 2 years, £1/1/6d. Your own and a gift subscription for one year — £1/1/6d. All post free.

¶ MONTHLY—ONE SHILLING

Printed by CAHILL & CO., LTD., *Parkgate Printing Works, Dublin*
Published by C. J. FALLON, LTD., 109, *Marlborough Street, Dublin*

EMERALD SCHOOL READERS

A NEW SERIES

Introductory Book
Beginners' Book
Preparatory Book
Junior Book

Fully Sanctioned

FRENCH

FRENCH GRAMMAR AND COMPOSITION
By Very Rev. J. A. MORAN, S.M., B.A.

MON LIVRE DE FRANCAIS By Rev. J. DAWSON, S.M. (New Revised Edition)

ENGLISH

SPELLING BOOK
FIRST ENGLISH GRAMMAR
LESSONS IN GRAMMAR
ENGLISH GRAMMAR
POEMS OF IRISH HISTORY
GENERAL INFORMATION

ALEX. THOM & CO. LTD., Publishers, CROW ST., DUBLIN

GILL'S NEW BOOKS

THE STORY OF A FAMILY

The Home of the Little Flower

By Fr. Stephane Piat, O.F.M. Translated by a Benedictine of Stanbrook Abbey. With Numerous Illustrations.

Here is the authentic story of the home of the Little Flower—the most important piece of literature on St. Therese since the publication of the autobiography.

"It would be difficult to overpraise the book."—*Irish Independent.*

17/6. Postage 6d.

FOOTPRINTS OF FATHER THEOBALD MATHEW, O.F.M.Cap.

Apostle of Temperance

By Father Augustine, O.F.M.Cap.

"Will rank at once as the definitive life."—*Cork Examiner.*

"A masterly work."—*Irish Independent* **17/6.** Postage 6d.

THE VEIL UPON THE HEART

By Rev. George Byrne, S.J.

"This appealing, devotional book, . . . will do much to quicken the life of prayer for all who read it, not merely for priests and nuns, but for all Catholics."—*Irish Monthly.*

5/- Postage 3d.

A RETREAT SOUVENIR

With Practical Resolutions

By Father Victor, C.P. Translated by Father Edmund, C.P.

Primarily intended for girls and young women who have made an enclosed Retreat, it should, nevertheless, prove helpful to all earnest for spiritual advancement.

1/6d. Postage 2d.

THE TRUE LEVEL

By Frances Wynne.

This finely written sequel to "Eastward of All" reveals what sixteen years of Catholicism have meant to this distinguished convert.

7/6d. Postage 4d.

THE GREAT FATHER TOM BURKE

By Rev. James F. Cassidy, B.A.

A brief life of the famous Dominican Orator. **3/-.** Postage 2d.

THE QUIET WAY

A Book of Sonnets

By Rev. D. A. O'Dea. **3/6d.** Postage 1½d.

FOR THE CHILDREN

LOO THE LEPRACHAUN AND BAININ THE CAT AND OTHER STORIES

By Brid Mahon.

With numerous coloured and black and white illustrations by Seamus McNeill.

The kiddies have thrilled to the adventures of Loo and Bainin on Radio Eireann. They will be on the air again on Christmas Day and here is the first book by their brilliant author.

7/6d. Postage 4½d.

Obtainable from the Publishers

M. H. GILL & SON LTD.

50 UPPER O'CONNELL STREET, DUBLIN

AND ALL BOOKSELLERS

STRIKES AND THE LABOUR COURT

BY REV. PROFESSOR CORNELIUS LUCEY, M.A., PH.D., D.D.
St. Patrick's College, Maynooth

THE Labour Court has now been in existence for more than a year. To be exact, it came formally into being on September 23, 1946. A little over a year is, of course, a very short probationary period on which to judge any social institution. But it is long enough to give some idea of how the Court is likely to work in practice. Much was hoped for from this Court; and, all things considered, much has been achieved by it. But not all that was expected. We may well ask therefore:—Could it have done better? Would some other kind of court have done better?

PURPOSE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE LABOUR COURT

In its own words the primary purpose of the Industrial Relations Act, the Act establishing the Labour Court, is "to make further and better provision for promoting harmonious relations between workers and their employers". 'Peace' rather than 'justice,' therefore, is the Court's main concern, its official watchword. This peace is to be promoted not by way of propaganda, goodwill missions, works councils and the like, but (*a*) by "regulating rates of remuneration and conditions of employment," and (*b*) by "the prevention and settlement of disputes".

The ordinary functions of the Court are in the main threefold: (1) stabilisation of agreements freely negotiated by employers and trade unions on their own; (2) regulation of wages and working conditions in 'sweated' trades; (3) investigation of labour troubles. Its extraordinary or temporary function is to continue, though in a somewhat attenuated form, the system of wages control introduced during the war years.

REGISTRATION. The first function of the Court is to "register" collective agreements reached through collective bargaining by organised Capital and Labour. The effect of registration is to convert what is of its nature just a private agreement into a legally enforceable contract and to extend it to all employers and workers in the particular category of trade or industry concerned—even to those who were not parties to the original agreement. To qualify for registration an agreement must, in the opinion of the Court, be *representative*, i.e., it must emanate from parties who are substantially representative of all the workers and employers to be affected by it; it must be *non-restrictive*, i.e. it must contain no clause providing for restrictive practices in the matter of employment, trading, or productive output; and it must be *conciliative*, i.e. it must expressly stipulate that, in the event of any future disagreement, recourse will always be had to conciliation before strike or lock-out action

is taken. Furthermore some one of the negotiating parties must apply, and all of them must agree, to have the agreement registered. Once registered, agreements can be terminated or varied only with the consent of the Court or in accordance with their own original provisions. The penalty for non-observance is a fine.

The purpose of registration is to secure that those who make suitable collective agreements abide loyally by them and that wages and conditions are uniform throughout a particular occupation. Were such agreements general and were they all duly registered, they would of course take us a very long way on the road to industrial peace. *De facto, however, not a single agreement was negotiated and registered by the Court since its establishment.* Evidently neither workers nor employers are prepared to have their agreements as responsible and stable as the Labour Court would like them to be.

Joint Labour Committees. Part IV of the Act transfers from the Minister for Industry and Commerce to the Court the power to constitute Joint Labour Committees and to supervise and control their work. These Committees are in reality the old Trade Boards renamed ; they are designed specially for the protection of unorganised and sweated workers ; and their main function is to determine fair *minimum* wage rates and working conditions for such workers. When confirmed by the Court, these rates and conditions become legally binding on all employers in the trade or industry catered for by the Committee.

By judicious use of this power the Court could do much to protect the unorganised worker from exploitation. *So far, however, it has not set up a single new Joint Labour Committee, though urged to do so*—for instance in the case of the Cork Messenger Boys. When it took over there were in all fifteen Boards or Committees in existence.

Recommendations. Part VI of the Industrial Relations Act deals with the Court's function in regard to trade disputes. Here too it proposes not to supersede the ordinary processes of collective bargaining but to supplement them—it will intervene only in the last resort and as far as organised labour is concerned only in an advisory fashion. Thus in the early stages of a dispute it may intervene only when the parties are without regular conciliation machinery of their own or when one of them requests its good offices. When however it judges that a stoppage is likely, or when one has actually occurred, it may intervene on its own initiative and try to bring about a settlement. This intervention may take one or other of two forms. The Chairman of the Court may appoint some member of his staff as conciliation officer to *mediate* between the parties. Or the Court may proceed formally to *investigate* the dispute itself and make " recommendations " in the light of the evidence submitted to it. A recommendation is the " setting forth of its opinion

on the merits of the dispute and the terms on which . . . it should be settled."

But there is no legal obligation whatever on employer or trade union to accept the recommendations made to them by the Court. *In other words the right to strike or lock-out is left intact by the Court.* Only in the case of an unofficial strike or a strike of unorganised workers, or when the parties themselves both agree beforehand to abide by the Court's findings, can the Labour Court make binding recommendations—or " awards " as they are called. Basically therefore the Court's powers in relation to disputes are conciliatory—they amount to compulsory investigation rather than to compulsory arbitration ; secondly, they are discretionary powers—the Court may intervene or not as it thinks fit. If there is to be a settlement, it must be the act of the parties themselves. All the Court does is to help them to reach agreement by clarifying the issues for them, giving them an unprejudiced opinion on the matters in dispute and reminding them of their obligations to each other and to the public. Moral pressure, the pressure of public opinion, on these rather than on legal injunctions and penalties the Court relies for acceptance of its findings.

How is the Court to be guided in making its recommendations? Very largely by its own good sense. It is given no specific guiding principles, no code of law to interpret and apply without fear or favour. Save for certain very general directions, all is left to its own discretion. The relevant section of the Act reads : " The Court, having investigated a trade dispute, shall make a recommendation setting forth its opinion on the merits of the dispute and the terms on which, in the public interest and with a view to industrial peace, it should be settled, due regard being had to the fairness of the said terms to the parties concerned, and to the prospects of the said terms being acceptable to them." No easy task this to reconcile four such disparate considerations as ' the public interest,' ' industrial peace,' ' fairness ' to the parties concerned, and the ' prospects ' of the terms being acceptable. And when it is done, what have we at best but a judicious compromise between justice and expediency?

In the first year of its activities the Court made two arbitration Awards and just over a hundred Recommendations. For the most part these recommendations were accepted and agreements in accordance with them were drawn up. In a few cases however they were not accepted and stoppages either followed or were persisted in. Unfortunately, alike for the prestige of the Court and for the public, these were the more important cases, cases of vital public concern such as the strikes (one in March last and one in May) by the Bord na Mona turf workers, the strikes (one in July and one in August) by the Cork gas workers, the tram and 'bus workers' strike, and to a certain extent the banking and insurance disputes. To these must be added the strike in the sugar

factories last season, a strike which the Court tried to end by refusal to hear the men's case unless work was resumed.

RECORDING ORDERS : WAGE ORDERS : VARIATION ORDERS. From 1942 on the State kept wages pegged down by means of a series of Emergency Powers Orders. The wages and bonuses fixed by each such Order for the different classes of employment were *maximum* rates. With the passing of the Industrial Relations Act these emergency powers were transferred, in a modified form and for a limited period, to the new Labour Court. In virtue of them the Court was obliged, if requested by the workers concerned before 22 January, 1947, to *record* any existing wage or bonus Order, thereby incidentally converting it from a minimum to a legally enforceable *maximum* wage ; in the case of workers to whom no wage or bonus Order applied, it may at their request make an order of its own which, if accepted by them, becomes recorded and therefore legally binding on the employer ; and finally at the request of the workers affected, it may *vary* any of these recorded orders upwards or even revoke them altogether. Originally these powers were to run only for a year, but they have now been prolonged for a further twelve months.

When the Court took over, some fifteen hundred Emergency Powers Orders in all had been made. Evidently most of the workers disliked these Orders, for only three hundred recordings were asked of the Court within the scheduled period. The number of Wage Variation Orders for the year is between eighty and ninety, a very high figure considering the total number of recorded Orders. Court Wages Orders during the year came to more than thirty. Over the year only eight applications for Orders were refused, while some sixteen existing Orders were revoked or cancelled. In all this work of wage-fixing the Court has had to carry on without any directives from the Act itself. But it has apparently—to some extent at least—decided on a policy of its own. Those making application for a Wages Order or a Variation Order may base their claim either on the due *rate for the job* or on the rise in *the cost of living*, according to a ruling of the Court—though not on both together.

The Labour Court, therefore, differs very considerably from the ordinary courts of law. These are courts of justice ; their function is to elicit the relevant facts of a case and apply the existing law to them ; they make provision for appeals from their decisions ; and their judgments are all binding on the parties concerned. The Labour Court, on the other hand, is first and foremost a court of industrial peace ; it is guided in its work not by any code of labour law but by its own sense of justice and expediency ; there is no appeal from its findings ; and it has little, if any, coercive power—save what the parties themselves voluntarily concede to it. All that it has in common with the criminal and civil

courts is (1) the power to summon witnesses and take evidence on oath; (2) the fact that it is independent of the Oireachtas and the Executive.

WEIGHED AND FOUND WANTING

What with 'recommendings' and 'varying' wage orders the Court has had a busy year. But not a wholly successful one, if the promotion of collective bargaining and the adjustment of labour troubles are to be regarded as its main objective. The result is that its prestige, its moral authority, is much less now than it was at the beginning of the year.

No doubt the Court took over at a time of unprecedented difficulty. During the war years the cost of living went up by more than seventy per cent., whereas wages and salaries were kept more or less pegged down. Now with the war over, wage controls removed, labour in the ascendant in Great Britain and the Continent, and new trade unions like the Federation of Rural Workers out to prove their worth, the stage was surely set for sweeping claims and forceful methods. And with the removal of wage controls went the removal also of profit controls; big business, which managed to profiteer to the tune of some seven million pounds yearly, even with the wartime price restrictions, had now a free hand and could pass on each increase in wages to the consumer in the shape of increased prices—with a little added to swell further its own (already excessive) profits. It would have taken a strong hand to cope with a situation so fluid and so explosive. And a strong hand the Court was not in a position to take.

In the first place the Labour Court has no real coercive power; it can lead but not drive. Human nature being what it is, we can be certain that this lead will not always be followed. Nothing short of the most drastic compulsory powers can in fact ensure a hundred per cent. acceptance of the Court's rulings. Some employers there will always be too obstinate and autocratic ever to compromise; some workers there will be equally obstinate and equally impervious to reason; and some disputes there will be of so complicated a tissue of rights and wrongs that each party can be honestly convinced that justice is all on its side. Conciliation, mediation, compulsory investigation—each of these helps to lessen the number of stoppages; but some few disputes are certain to filter through all three and be as far from adjustment as ever.

In the second place the Court's moral authority, never over strong because of the nature of the Court's constitution, has been weakened very considerably by certain happenings during the year. The fact is that the Court, as constituted, does not guarantee a fair and just settlement of labour troubles. What it is adjured to aim at, what it guarantees, is simply a good working compromise. Then with no declared principles to be bound by, no code of law to apply, it lacks the hall-mark of objectivity and impartiality for its acts. And lastly there is no appeal from its

decisions though, knowing the fallibility of human judgments, the average man profoundly distrusts the 'once-for-all' decision. This, of course, is not to say that the Court has acted in an unfair, unprincipled, or dictatorial way. It is only to say that there is no sufficient juridical safeguard against its doing so.

More damaging still to the Court's prestige has been the fact that its rulings have been successfully flouted, that it has no consistent wages policy, and that it has come to be regarded as pro-employer. For instance, the Cork gas workers in July turned down the Court's recommendations and ultimately received 7s. 6d. a week more; the Tralee drapery buyers turned down the Court's recommendation of £5 15s. a week and ultimately (October 2) secured 15s. a week more; the bank officials turned down the Court's recommendations and ultimately did much better. If these, and others besides them, can beat the Court's offer, the natural tendency is for all workers to regard any offer made to them as a safe minimum which, if they are intransigent enough, they may succeed in bettering.

As instances of the Court's inconsistency in specifying wage rates take the following. In August, by Wages Variation Orders 83, 82, and 81 respectively, the weekly wage for "doughmakers" was fixed at 130s. 6d. and that of "tablehands" at 126s. for Coachford, Blarney and Cobh, all in Co. Cork; at the same time, by a Court Wages Order, the weekly wage for "doughmakers" in Co. Wicklow was fixed at 105s. and that of "tablehands" at 95s. A Court Wages Order of September 15 fixed the weekly wage for Monaghan "tablehands" at 91s. 6d.; a Variation Order for Bandon, Co. Cork, specified 115s. and 110s. as the weekly wage for "doughmakers" and "tablehands" respectively. In other words, for the same category of workers different wage rates were specified not only for different parts of the country but even for different areas of the same county. And what is true of bakery workers is true also of other categories of workers catered for by the Court. The just wage can hardly vary in this way; the Bandonman can hardly be expected to esteem a Court which offers him 15s. 6d. a week less than it offers his neighbour over-Lee.

Nor has the Court been fortunate in the fact that employers needs must abide by its Wage Orders, and de facto always have accepted its recommendations so far, though free not to do so. Inevitably this tends to make workers suspect that the Court must be on the employers' side.

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION: PROS AND CONS

There is no need to deal at length with the case for compulsory arbitration. It has been presented twice already in these pages ("Strikes and Compulsory Arbitration": June 1936; "Arbitration in Labour Disputes": December 1940) by the present writer. Suffice it to recapitulate the main points:

Strikes (and lockouts) occasion the gravest material, social and moral evils both for the participants themselves and for the general public, while providing no guarantee whatever that the matters in dispute will be settled on their merits. Take the case of the 'bus and tram strike. It means a big financial loss to C.I.E.; it means a loss of more than three pounds a week to each of the men; it will leave a legacy of bitterness and ill-will for many a day; and it offers to subversive elements the most favourable conditions possible for the propagation of revolutionary ideas. But it means more than that. It means serious inconvenience to the travelling public, particularly the poorer sections who cannot afford to have a car of their own or hire a taxi. And it means nation wide inconvenience, not just the inconvenience of a few but of nearly everybody. The modern tendency towards the one big company and the one big union has as its inevitable bye-product the one big strike and the paralysis of one whole section of the national life. But war is war, and the greater the inconvenience caused to the general public by a stoppage, the greater are its chances of success. If the community provides the worker with no better method of enforcing his rights, it cannot fairly complain at his use of the strike weapon.

A case could be made for the strike, if it guaranteed a fair settlement of the matters in dispute. Unfortunately it gives no such guarantee. All it secures is that the tougher and stronger party will prevail. And as often as not, that will be the party in the wrong; for in human affairs might and right do not always go hand in hand. Hence from the ethical standpoint the strike or lockout is a most unsatisfactory way of resolving disputes, being just as likely to perpetuate injustice as to remove it.

Compulsory arbitration is associated in the minds of many with State totalitarianism. Provided, however, the arbitration court has the same independence of the legislature and the executive that the judiciary has, there are no real grounds for this view—no more grounds in fact than there are for labelling the civil and criminal courts as totalitarian. Australia and New Zealand, for instance, are democratic countries. Yet both have for long adopted compulsory arbitration—so obviously the system is not undemocratic; and it has worked well—so obviously it must be a progressive and practical way of eliminating labour troubles.

The case against compulsory arbitration is, first of all, that it takes away all freedom of action on the part of employers and workers as regards wages and working conditions. In other words it is one more step, and a very big step at that, towards the Servile State. This holds, however, only when compulsory arbitration takes the place of collective bargaining and conciliation, not when it follows on their failure. Secondly, there is the objection that compulsory arbitration can and often does spell 'arbitrary' arbitration. Thirdly, there is the objection that it must mean the end of trade unionism and the end, too, of all sense of personal

responsibility on the part of workers and employers alike in their dealings with each other. Finally, there is the objection that it cannot be enforced without recourse to more draconian methods than a democratic people will tolerate.

SUGGESTIONS FOR AN IMPROVED LABOUR COURT

On the whole I am convinced, now as in the past, that a Labour Court with full coercive powers provides a more rational, a more effective, and a more Christian way of resolving differences between employers and their staffs than the strike or lockout does. Not any kind of Labour Court however, but a Labour Court approximating as nearly as possible to the existing Courts of Justice—fearless, independent and authoritative in its judgments.

(1) My first proposal is that, instead of having a single Labour Court as at present, we should have at least two, viz.: a Court or Courts of first instance and a Court of final appeal. The Courts of first instance—if there are to be more than one such, as I think there should—I would have constituted on a vocational basis with jurisdiction likewise on a vocational basis, the members to be appointed by the Government precisely as the members of the existing Labour Court are. The Court of final appeal, the Supreme Labour Court, I would have consist of three members all appointed by the Government at its absolute discretion, and not on the nomination of organised labour or capital as such. The independence of the courts can be safeguarded as at present.

(2) My second proposal is that these courts should have jurisdiction over all workers and employers without exception. Agricultural workers, persons employed by the State or by local authorities, and persons paid by the State such as the national teachers, are all more or less excluded from the scope of the existing Act. There is no valid reason why this should be so, why there should be one law for the private employer and employee and another—or none—for the State employer and the State employee. State employees, State-paid persons, can (as we know from the teachers' strike) have their grievances. And these grievances may be real, well-founded ; and Ministers and their officials cannot be trusted always to know and do the right thing by those in their service. Nor would it be derogatory to the majesty of the State that a supreme court of this kind should review Ministerial decisions. After all, the Minister and his servants can be proceeded against in the civil and criminal courts for their actions. Why not equally in the labour courts?

(3) Thirdly a series of wages and conditions of employment laws should be enacted forthwith for the guidance of the Court. For instance, the doctrine of the *Family Living Wage* is an integral part of Christian social teaching. The obvious thing is to give the principle legal existence

and specify in terms of food, etc., what standard of living is contemplated. As the family wage is a *minimum* wage and so may well vary upwards, and as it holds *per se* only for the adult male worker, the principle needs to be supplemented by a further principle, namely that of *Equal Pay for Equal Work*. A second provision of the new labour code, therefore, should be the standardisation of wages both within and between the various industries in the country. A third section of the code should deal with what is called industry's *Capacity to Pay*. It might, for instance, specify that when a particular concern proves that, through no fault of its own, it cannot afford to pay its employees the standard wage, the Court should call on the community to make good the deficit between what the employer can pay and what the worker should get. And it might, too, prohibit the passing on of wage increases to the consumer in the shape of increased prices by concerns that can well afford to provide the wage increase out of existing profits. The new Industrial Efficiency and Prices Bill would obviously be most helpful here. Lastly, the *Conditions of Employment Act* (1936) should be brought up-to-date and new sections added covering agricultural employment, domestic service, and the other categories of work not included in the original Act.

(4) Fourthly, Lightning Strikes and the General Strike should be banned altogether ; the Ordinary Strike or Lockout, while not outlawed absolutely, should be made subject to much more exacting conditions than at present. At least twenty-one days notice of a proposed strike or lockout should be required, within which period the appropriate Court of first instance would intervene first to try conciliation and then to investigate and make recommendations, as the existing Labour Court does. If the recommendations are not accepted and if either party to the dispute appeals to the Supreme Labour Court, the latter shall then deal definitively with the dispute ; its decisions shall be binding, they shall always be retrospective to the date on which the Court of first instance made its recommendations so that the parties will not suffer through the delay in hearing, and strike or lockout action, either while the appeal is pending or when the ruling on it has been made, shall be an offence punishable in law. In other words, I would have *compulsory investigation* by the Courts of first instance of all labour disputes whatsoever and *compulsory arbitration* by the Supreme Labour Court of such disputes as either party refers to it.

All this amounts to a big tightening-up of strike controls. At the moment neither the lightning strike nor the general strike are forbidden or unknown. Yet I believe that, under normal conditions of law, neither is justifiable. Both, therefore, should be declared unlawful. The ordinary strike I would have permissible only (*a*) when collective bargaining and conciliation have been tried out ; (*b*) when public opinion has the decision

of the Court of first instance to guide it, (c) and both parties prefer to fight the matter out rather than call in the Court of Final Appeal.

Finally, the decision to take strike action, to accept or reject the recommendations of the Court of first instance, should be by law a majority decision on a secret ballot. Open voting lends itself to too many abuses to be tolerable in so serious a proceeding.

(5) What if the workers resolve to defy the Court? Imprisonment, fines, the concentration camp and forced labour—these I rule out as possible penalties. Instead I would have the men's unions—or the employer in the case of an unauthorised lockout—penalised by fine as under the existing Act. In addition I would have it made an offence for an employer to take those illegally on strike back into his employment save on the original terms, or for the strikers to picket, parade, or otherwise deter workers willing to take the employment they have vacated. But further than that we should not go.

The existing Labour Court has failed—not hopelessly, of course, but nevertheless to a serious extent. Or, to be more exact, labour has failed the Court and shows itself increasingly disposed to continue doing so. In the circumstances, therefore, we must be prepared either to put up with a never ending series of stoppages even in the public utilities or else strengthen the Labour Court. It is not a case of compulsory arbitration *versus* voluntary agreement. It is a case of compulsory arbitration, or rather near-compulsory arbitration (after deadlock has been reached in voluntary negotiations and hostilities are about to begin) *versus* open industrial warfare. What our choice should be and how the present Labour Court must be reconstructed so as to implement it I have endeavoured to show in the preceding paragraphs.

C. Lucey

Comments on the foregoing Article

NO. I.—BY PROFESSOR MICHAEL TIERNEY

President, University College, Dublin

WHEN a strike is protracted, as was the recent disastrous transport strike, there is always an instructive contrast between the manner in which it begins and that in which it ends. In the case of the transport strike, its commencement was marked by the kind of excitement and feeling of novelty that so frequently accompanies the early stages of a war. There was the usual crop of wild rumours and unbelievable but vehemently certified stories. The illusion of a war was perhaps heightened in this particular case by the fact that almost everybody was more or less affected by the strike. As the weeks wore on, this "frisch-fröhlich" feeling gradually gave way to one of increasing boredom; excitement died down in a dull monotony of inconvenience; and when the end came, it is safe

to say that very few among the ordinary public cared which side had won the victory or what the terms were. All that was hoped for was an assurance that the long ordeal was over anyhow and the buses once more on the road.

The resemblance between this gradual change in public feeling and the gradual growth of apathy during a long and disastrous war is an important indication as to the true nature of strikes. They are a kind of bloodless civil war. In the modern world, dominated by commerce and industry, they serve as an outlet for much the same combative instincts as were during all earlier history relieved by actual blood-letting. While we suffer acutely from their effects and while it is true that they "occasion the gravest material, social, and moral evils, both for the participants themselves and the general public," it is also true that at almost any other period of recorded time—indeed, at the present time in almost any other part of Europe—our sufferings from the inevitable realities of actual war might have been far more severe. In the days when real war was endemic, few men or women lived past middle age without experiencing the rigours of siege, sack, famine, or the pestilence that was war's invariable follower.

I hope I shall not be thought flippant if I suggest, in the light of this consideration, that strikes may after all have their uses in an imperfect but increasingly regimented world. They are one way left to industrial man for asserting his ultimate freedom. I sometimes think that the Irishman's propensity towards strikes—a propensity which nearly destroyed for a time Daniel O'Connell's immense popularity in Dublin—has its good side as an indication that he will not easily submit to the octopus-embrace of the paternal State. Dr. Lucey has for many years been distinguished for his advocacy of compulsory arbitration as a weapon against the strike. I am sorry to find myself in disagreement with an authority who has devoted far more time and trouble to the subject than I have. But there are at least three arguments which seem to me, in the present state of our social development, to be fatal to his case.

The first argument is the one I have already sketched. It is a tenable view that, for all the harm they admittedly do, strikes in actual fact preserve us from evils that may be far graver. I cannot so easily dismiss the fear of totalitarianism as Dr. Lucey does, nor can I admit so easily the analogy between his proposed Labour Courts and the courts of ordinary law. Refusal to work, even if frivolous or organised, can surely never be put on the same level as unjust violence or deliberate fraud. We may all agree that the major strikes of the past year, which the existing Labour Court was powerless to prevent or shorten—the turf-strike, the beet-strike, the transport strike—did far more harm than good to all concerned and ought not to have taken place. It is, however, an illegitimate exaggeration of their admitted seriousness to treat them as crimes

and to try to use against their perpetrators measures analogous to those we use against criminals. Dr. Lucey sees this when he rules out "imprisonment, fines, the concentration camp, and forced labour" as sanctions. But he does not seem to see that the necessity for ruling out these penalties considerably weakens the force of his argument.

The second point which I feel must be made against his advocacy of compulsory arbitration is that it involves pre-suppositions which are —at the moment anyhow—outside the range of practical politics. He demands not only that a Court with compulsory powers be set up, but also that "a series of wages and conditions of employment laws should be enacted forthwith" for its guidance. The code he envisages would impose on the one hand the principle of a family wage, on the other that of equal pay for equal work; and it would also include provisions to take into account an industry's capacity to pay. It is hardly necessary to suggest that these prerequisites add up to a very tall order indeed. Years of study and experiment would be needed to produce such a code, and a special symposium at least would be called for in order to adumbrate the possibilities involved in the equal pay principle. It would be far more statesmanlike to deal with these matters as issues in their own right than to try to settle them as a kind of brief preamble to the institution of a Labour Court. The suggestion that such a court might deal with an industry's capacity to pay is deceptively simple. In practice, the giving of such powers to a court would surely deprive business of all real liberty and thereby of all capacity for enterprise. In other words it would effectively kill business.

The third weakness in Dr. Lucey's plan seems to me to lie in the lack of all real power to enforce it. The penalisation of unions would be of little avail in the by no means infrequent cases where the strike takes place entirely without their consent or against their desires. The punishment of employers for re-employing those who have been illegally on strike has a slightly Gilbertian flavour about it, and its effect as a deterrent would scarcely be very great. Finally, the prohibition of picketing might in certain cases, easy enough to foresee, turn the sublimated civil war, which is a strike, into a real "shooting war". If I am right in viewing the strike as in a sense an assertion of human freedom, the industrial form of appeal to the *ultima ratio*, then it can in the long run only be abolished either by abolishing freedom or else by effecting a transformation in human nature itself.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

NO. 2.—BY PROFESSOR GEORGE O'BRIEN, D.LITT.

I AM in agreement generally with Dr. Lucey's arguments and conclusions. The modesty of the practical results achieved by the Labour Court, in spite of its excellent composition and good intentions, cannot be denied.

It has failed, to some extent, to do what it was primarily intended to do: to keep industrial peace. More than one of its decisions have been openly flouted, and its jurisdiction has been ignored on more than one occasion. The public have been subjected to the most acute suffering and inconvenience by the irresponsible and anti-social action of the Trade Unions and their members. Clearly, some change in the method of industrial conciliation is required. It is difficult to suggest improvements on Dr. Lucey's suggestions. The disadvantages of compulsory arbitration probably outweigh the advantages. The strengthening of the powers of the Labour Court, the institution of a Court of Appeal, the outlawing of lightning and unauthorized strikes, and the imposition of sanctions for disobeying the orders of the Court are all suggestions that must command approval. No alteration in the machinery of conciliation will, however, ensure industrial peace unless, as Dr. Lucey rightly insists, the principles of fixing wages and conditions of work are more clearly defined than they are in the terms of reference of the Labour Court. The term " fairness " in the Industrial Relations Act stands in need of some clarification.

The situation is, in some ways, like that which prevailed after the Land Act of 1881. Under that Act the Irish Land Commission had the power to fix " fair " rents, but no definition of " fairness " was provided by the Act. The result was a crop of litigation resulting in inconsistent and irreconcilable decisions. Finally, the legislature had to come to the rescue, and guidance in the definition of what constituted a " fair " rent was supplied in an amending statute. Similarly the Labour Court is given no definition of what constitutes a fair or reasonable wage. The fixing of wages is still left to collective bargaining, in which the forces of demand and supply fight a crude battle. The result is consequently determined by the respective strength of the parties rather than by any considerations of fairness, judged either by ethical or economic standards. As Dr. Lucey says, peace rather than justice is the object of the Court. But all experience proves that peace that is not based on justice cannot endure. The Court either registers the results of a collective bargain or assists the parties to reach such a bargain. It supplements rather than supersedes the machinery of collective bargaining. There is no reason to believe, however, that that machinery will produce a just wage, especially in this age of monopolies. Negotiations between highly organized bodies of employers and workers may simply represent a test of power, resulting in a decision which is, at best, a compromise and, at worst, an exploitation. The determination of the price of labour is still left to the interplay of the forces of supply and demand operating in a very imperfect market.

It is to remedy this state of affairs that Dr. Lucey suggests that " a series of wages and conditions of employment laws should be enacted for the guidance of the Court ". While this suggestion is excellent in principle, its translation into practice would entail very considerable difficulties.

The definition of a minimum family wage based on Christian social teaching would be easy enough. Indeed it is already done by the Joint Labour Committees which have taken the place of the old Trade Boards. Conditions of employment could also be satisfactorily regulated by law. The real difficulties would be encountered when an attempt was made to find a guiding principle for wages above the minimum. The principle of Equal Pay for Equal Work is exceedingly hard to define in practice. The Report of the British Royal Commission on Equal Pay, published in 1946, states: "Equal Pay for Equal Work is primarily a battlecry and in a battlecry it is proper to expect power rather than precision. Expectation is not disappointed in this instance; the ambiguities of the expression are admitted and deplored by all who attempt seriously to grapple with the issue." Possibly a more satisfactory approach to measuring the fairness of a wage would be to estimate what the wage for any particular work would be in a perfect market, where there was equality of opportunity, complete mobility, full knowledge and no inequality of bargaining power. Such an inquiry would bristle with difficulties since no such market exists, but anything short of it might result in the fixing of a wage too low for the efforts and sacrifices of the worker or too high for the capacity of the industry to pay. The artificial fixation of wages at a level not justified by the productivity of the workers concerned may lead to serious repercussions in the form of business losses, unemployment and inflation.

If a principle is right, the fact that it is difficult to apply should not banish it from consideration. If it is right that the Labour Court should receive the assistance of guiding principles, every effort should be made to provide such guidance, even though the quest be long and the results not completely perfect. An interesting attempt to discover some such guiding principles is contained in an article in the current *Economic Journal* by Messrs. S. Cook and R. James, entitled *Job Specification for a Fair Wage*. The authors of this article state that "the widespread dissatisfaction with present methods by which wage rates are fixed has prompted research into the question of a new method of assessing wages, based on the belief that a careful analysis of the various jobs in industry, and a comparison between them, will lead to fixing of wage payment, fairer in its application and more adaptable to its relation to the cost of living." Having drawn attention to the weaknesses and injustices resulting from collective bargaining, they continue: "Suppose that, instead of the haphazard method of fixing wages by bargains based on power, we prepare for each job a specification, considering carefully all the requirements of it and all the conditions involved in it, and work out the relation of those requirements and conditions to those involved in all other industrial occupations; we should then be able to arrive at something approaching a fair wage."

Space forbids any discussion of the authors' detailed suggestions.

Their conclusion is that the definition of fair wages based on a comparison of a large number of specified conditions should be made by a Royal Commission composed of experts, with power to call witnesses and make detailed inquiry. The wages originally fixed could be varied with changes in the cost of living. The advantages claimed for this scheme are that real wages would always bear a proper relation both to the economic capacity of industry and to the cost of living, that many present inequities would be abolished, and that, " above all, the new system would at least provide a step towards the sense of fairness in industry and to the better relations which are so vitally needed." If a similar inquiry could be instituted in Ireland, the Labour Court would be gradually put in possession of the material which would enable it to give the sort of decision which, as Dr. Lucey rightly suggests, it is at present neither asked nor able to give.

GEORGE O'BRIEN

NO. 3.—BY SENATOR MICHAEL HAYES, M.A.

WITHOUT the agreement and co-operation of organized labour a Labour Court could not work at all. The Industrial Relations Act, 1946, is an agreed measure : it was preceded by consultations between the Minister and the two Trade Union Congresses into which the Labour Movement is unfortunately now split. Labour leaders have always been suspicious of Labour Courts, and it would be quite impossible to get their consent to any scheme of compulsory arbitration. That is one practical argument against Compulsory Arbitration. Masses of men cannot be forced to work if they are determined not to, except by the use of methods which in the long run would certainly prove more costly and more dangerous to peace than strikes as we know them. The strike weapon is ultimately the only one at the disposal of the worker, and he believes that it has achieved great improvements in his pay and conditions. What is called Compulsory Arbitration often in fact means little more than Compulsory Investigation serving to delay action on either side. That is what Dr. Lucey seems to have in his mind, except that he desires that the lightning strike and the general strike should both be declared unlawful. But is that the best way to stop them?

Compulsory investigation in labour disputes is quite feasible. It should be compulsory to notify the Court before a lockout or strike takes place and, if a stoppage of work occurs before the Court has heard the case or within say seven days after its award has been announced, then the provisions of the Trade Disputes Act should not apply—that is, there should be no picketing. Other penalties could be considered. The same conditions should apply to an unauthorised or unofficial strike. But before you can legislate even for that you must get agreement with

labour. Such agreement would, I believe, be possible ; and it would be far better if lightning strikes could be dealt with by the Unions themselves.

No strike should come under the Trade Disputes Act unless there has been a secret ballot. Too many strikes begin noisily with a show of hands and end silently with a secret ballot.

Compulsory investigation and advisory judgments should be extended to civil servants, local officers, teachers, and other persons employed or paid from State or semi-State funds. The authorities would still be free to reject the award, but like any other employer they would have to justify themselves to the public.

There is a difference between a Minister being subject to the law and the Minister for Finance, who is responsible to the Dáil, being compelled to pay scales of salary settled by an outside Tribunal. But there is no valid reason why the public should not have at their disposal the report of such a Tribunal.

A great deal more could be done to minimise the losses caused by trade disputes, but it is by no means certain that an elaborate legal " code " will make everything right. In practical politics one has to proceed slowly, and it is better to aim at agreed developments rather than to attempt an immediate 100 per cent. all-embracing solution. Even on Dr. Lucey's own showing the preparations for Compulsory Arbitration, which he deems necessary, would take many years. One of his suggestions, however, should certainly be carried out. We do need a survey to determine the amount and the cost of the food necessary to maintain a family in a number of typical places. This has been done in England ; but it must be remembered that the results of such a survey would not necessarily be accepted and would require constant adjustments.

Standardisation of wages is a step towards centralization and uniformity of which we have far too much already. We have too many Bills, too many laws, too much regimentation, too many efforts towards nice tidy easily-handled uniformity. An elaborate labour code, which would necessarily give rise to dispute and discussion during its passage through the Oireachtas, is not the road to industrial peace or even to the just wage. One cannot easily legislate away the human, local, and historical factors which play their parts in settling wages and conditions in various places. Equal pay for equal work cannot be adequately discussed in a note such as this, but even if the principle were adopted—as it has been in certain places (the Universities, for example), its universal application bristles with difficulties and could not be swiftly accomplished.

During the passage of the Industrial Relations Act through the Seanad I advocated that the Chairman should have the status and tenure of a High Court Judge. One of the judges, Judge Davitt, has acted successfully on several occasions at the request of the Government as Chairman to settle a particular dispute. The nomination of such a person would

give the court standing and earn it respect. The way in which witnesses are handled is all important, and it is not given to all chairmen to combine firmness with courtesy. If the Court is to investigate " Capacity to pay," it will need either as a member or assessor an experienced accountant; and if it is to consider fully such matters, it cannot give swift decisions. Dr. Lucey's suggestion that the award should be retrospective gets over the objection of delay.

The present Court is unfortunate in that it has had to deal with a great number of cases coming together after a period when prices had risen enormously, while wages had not been permitted to rise in proportion. It has failed signally in its dealings with the " White Collar " worker. To say that the agents of the Irish Assurance Company and the Bank Clerks were dissatisfied with the Court's treatment of their claims is to be very mild indeed. The truth is that these people were not in the mind of the Minister when he was constituting the Court. Representatives of organized labour and of industrial employers are hardly the persons to adjudicate on the claims of teachers, bank clerks, civil servants and professional men or women. Either there must be two courts each dealing with defined classes of disputes or the Chairman must have different assessors or colleagues in different cases.

The word " Court " is misleading. The members of the Labour Court have not judicial tenure; they have neither statutes, precedents, nor common law to guide them. But the idea of setting up such a tribunal with general consent to give advisory judgments is, I believe, sound. The growth of principles and practice based on decisions of the Court is better and more practicable than the drawing up of an elaborate code beforehand. It is better to go as far as possible to help contending parties to agree rather than to impose settlements.

The present Act is a first and necessary step. It is by no means the last word on a very thorny subject. The Act is bound to be amended and extended in the light of experience. When amendments are being considered Dr. Lucey's thought-provoking and courageous contributions will, I am sure, be of great assistance to all concerned.

MICHAEL HAYES

IRISH SWORDSMEN IN FLANDERS

1586–1610

BY REV. BRENDAN JENNINGS, O.F.M.

I.—Stanley's Regiment, 1586–1587

"Five hundred Irishmen left Ireland in order to assist the Queen of England in the Flemish war; and though the greater part of them were cut off, their name and renown for heroism and bravery spread throughout Europe."—*Annals of the Four Masters, ad annum* 1586.[1]

ANY attention which has been given so far to the history of Irish swordsmen in foreign service has been concentrated almost exclusively on those officers and men who fought in the armies of France. It is only too true that even in that more favoured field of research the amount of work which yet remains to be done is very considerable. The student has at his disposal the works of O'Connor, O'Callaghan, and Dalton[2], and in recent years his curiosity has been excited and whetted by the contributions of Dr. Richard Hayes and others[3]; nevertheless, he finds himself hindered and frustrated in every direction. He is unable, for instance, to discover any precise answer to the important question as to when service with the French actually began, and still less is he able to follow up systematically its development and decline. He realises too frequently and sharply that this unsatisfactory state of things will not come to an end until the military archives of France have, from the Irish point of view, been thoroughly examined and the results published.

With regard to other countries the position is even more discouraging. A promising start has been made in Spain by the mission sent by the government last year to Simancas for the purpose of making a preliminary survey; but so far, although it is generally understood that the results were excellent, nothing has been published. It is to be hoped that the work will soon be taken up again and extended to cover all Spanish archives of importance; and while this is being done, it would be desirable that research should also be carried out in such centres as Vienna, where the military archives are said to teem with information of Irish interest[4]; and at Pizzofalone near Naples, concerning which a similar statement has been made.[5] If the archives of Sweden and Poland, and those at Prague, do not offer such good prospects, nevertheless the student would welcome their careful examination; for we know nothing of the fate of the many thousands of Irishmen sent into Swedish service at the beginning of the seventeenth century[6] or of those recruited by Poland at about the same time[7]; and we might perhaps learn much more about the men who

[1] All the notes will be found at the end of the article.

fought in the Battle of Prague in 1620,[8] and about those who helped the Irish Franciscans to found their college at Prague in 1629 and who shocked Europe by slaying Wallenstein in 1634.[9]

The passage from the *Annals of the Four Masters* which is put at the head of this paper takes us to the Low Countries, and an attempt will be made (based principally on the official documents preserved in the Archives générales du Royaume at Brussels) to trace the development of Irish military service there from what are believed to be its origins. Perhaps at first sight the passage may appear to be of no importance for the subject to be dealt with, since the Irishmen referred to went out as part of an English expeditionary force. They belonged to the army which Elizabeth, after much hesitation, had decided at last (10 August 1585) to send under the command of the Earl of Leicester to assist the northern states of the Netherlands in their fight for independence against Spain. But their English connections were soon to be severed ; and they not only entered into foreign service, but apparently they were the first large body of Irishmen ever to do so and to fight as a distinct national unit. They started an Irish military tradition which lasted throughout a full century and which exercised a profound influence on the destinies of Ireland itself, especially through Owen Roe O'Neill and those officers who came back with him to fight the battles of the Confederation of Kilkenny.

Almost immediately after Elizabeth had made her decision, it seems to have occurred to Perrot, who was then Lord Deputy, that some portion of the troops needed for the new campaign might profitably be drawn from Ireland ; for just one month later, on September 10, he reports to the Lords of the Council that " if soldiers are wanted for Flanders, he can choose 1,500 (*native Irish*) to be sent hence, that might do good service there, and be well spared here (*in Ireland*), 400 good shot."[10] No further move seems to have been made, however, during the next three months ; but by December 15 Leicester himself had taken up the idea, and in a letter from the Low Countries to Mr. Secretary Walsyngham he prays him " to get her Majesty's favour that I may have six hundred or a thousand of your Irish idle men, such as be not only in her Majesty's pay, but very meet to be out of the country. The cause of my desire to have them is for that they be hard, and will abide more pains than our (*English*) men, till they have been well trained with hardness as they (*the Irish*) have." He requests that her Majesty may write to the Lord Deputy and authorise him to send over any men whose service he himself does not need in Ireland, " and to further the bearer that is sent thither in all reasonable sort for his conveying and transportation of them, without any charge to her Majesty."[11]

It has very reasonably been surmised that this idea of employing Irishmen had been urged upon Leicester by none other than Sir William Stanley, who had just arrived in the Low Countries before Leicester

wrote his letter ;[12] and as Stanley is to play such an important part in this whole affair, it may be well to recall briefly something of his person and his past career before we proceed further. William Stanley, who was the son of Sir Rowland Stanley of Cheshire, is thought to have been born about the year 1534, so that in 1586 he would have been just over fifty years of age.[13] He was a Catholic in religion (though seemingly so far this had not caused him much thought), and in his early years he had fought with the Spanish armies in the Low Countries under the great Duke of Alva[14]—no doubt for the sole purpose of gaining some military experience. He left the Low Countries about the year 1570, and for the next fifteen years served with Elizabeth's forces in Ireland against the Geraldines.[15] He first earned notable distinction in 1579, when he was knighted at Waterford by Sir William Drury for the part he had taken in an inroad into Limerick.[16] By 1584 he was sheriff of Corck, where during the absence of Sir John Norris, the Lord President of Munster, for whom he acted, he not only wasted and depopulated the country, but also made himself responsible for three hundred executions.[17] By 1585 he had become Master of the Ordonnance, and he retained this post when, with Norris and other officers, he left Ireland to take part in the war in Holland[18]—where he arrived with the English forces in December 1585.

On December 29, just a fortnight after Leicester had sent his request for Irishmen, we find Stanley also writing from the Hague to Walsyngham with the same request and stating that Leicester had confided this matter wholly to his charge. He encloses in his letter a list (unfortunately lost) of the captains whom he wished to be allowed to conduct the levy of the recruits, and he requests that they, who were " most of them of my own followers," should be allowed in turn to choose their own subordinate officers from the companies which had seen service with him in Ireland and which at the end of the war had been disbanded.[19]

The first official answer to this project was a refusal from the Queen, and in a further letter (7 Feb. 1585–6) Leicester expresses his disappointment that " her Majesty would not allow the Irish soldiers to come hither ; her Majesty should not have been at a penny charge for them " ; and he is of opinion that their services in Ireland will not compensate for the loss resulting from their absence from the Low Countries.[20] Evidently a certain amount of diplomacy would have to be exercised before Elizabeth would be brought to see the advantages which appeared so obvious to her soldiers ; and in particular it would have to be made quite clear to her that the projected Irish contingent would not be a source of fresh outlay. Nearly two months were to pass before this cautious attitude could be altered, but by 20 March 1586 Walsyngham was able to inform Leicester : " I find her disposed to like that certain cashed bands in Ireland, upon doubt that otherwise they will put her to some charge here, shall be transported to the Low Countries, so it may be done without her burden "[21] ;

and on the day following Leicester was informed that " her Majesty is pleased that your Lordship shall have one thousand men, and perhaps more, out of Ireland." It was left to him to make the necessary financial arrangements in London for equipment and transport, and he was allowed to appoint whomsoever he preferred to levy the men and convey them from Ireland.[22] For this, Leicester kept to the choice of officers he had made in the preceding December, and by the end of March had already sent to London Sir William Stanley. Early in April Stanley was back in Ireland, where recruiting appears to have begun at once.[23]

There seems to have been found here more than the usual amount of difficulty. In the first place, there was much discussion about the price to be paid, until finally Leicester himself decided that Stanley should receive forty shillings for each man—on the assumption, no doubt, that this was as much as it would be possible to recover from the Dutch States.[24] It was calculated that transport would cost a further £1,000.[25] More annoying must have been the different " malicious and seditious " reports which were circulated and which " greatly hindered and crossed " Stanley—reports that any men who should join the expedition were simply to be lead to the slaughter.[26] If finally success was achieved, it was due to the great efforts of Perrot.[27] However, in a letter from his ancestral home at Hooton on 8 May 1586, Stanley intimates that one thousand men were already mustered at Waterford, to be sent by sea to Flushing, and only awaited the transport of their supplies from Chester through Thomas Lynyall the purveyor.[28] Some of these men had seen service with Bingham in Connaught ;[29] others had formed part of the garrison at Carrickfergus ;[30] while others again belonged to the company which had fought in Ireland under Captain Woodhouse.[39] On July 11, Walsyngham wrote to Leicester that he hoped " the next westerley will bring him (Stanley) and his troops unto your lordship "[32] and on the day following it was reported that they had already sailed, with a merry wind, and were thought by then to be off the coast of Holland.[33] Stanley himself was still at Richmond on July 21, but " intending to go over to Leicester with great haste, judging that his men are before this time at Flushing."[34]

We have not long to wait for further information about the new arrivals, and for the next few months we can follow their whereabouts and activities with no great difficulty. Our earliest notice comes from one of the famous Fugger brothers, who in a letter from Antwerp on 2 August 1586 mentions that Stanley was before Dixmude, whither he had returned after an unsuccessful attempt to bring about the surrender of Gravelines by bribing the Governor.[35] Some six weeks later the same writer refers explicitly to the Irish infantry in the Low Countries and gives us some idea, picked up no doubt from rumour, of the impression they had created in their new surroundings. " These Irishmen," he writes, " are almost all naked and have their bows and arrows with them. They are quick runners, and there

are also some hundreds of them who go on stilts the height of a man. They are to walk through the moats surrounding the towns and climb the walls."[36] The Jesuit historian Strada gives practically the same description, except to note that they are "*e silvestri omnes genere atque ferino*"[37] which we may perhaps best translate by saying that "they were all wild men of the woods."

Before another week had passed, on September 22, the famous battle of Zuthpen was fought, in an attempt by the English forces to prevent the Duke of Parma from introducing much needed relief into the town. It resulted ultimately in a success for the Spanish forces, though the early part of the engagement was hard fought and the English were able to free themselves from an extremely difficult position into which they had wandered in the fog. Leicester himself unhesitatingly attributed the chief credit for this to Stanley, and hence by implication to his Irishmen. "There was in the field of ours" he writes, "of horse in the whole two hundred, whereof these lords and gentlemen with their followers, to the number of three score at most, did all this feat, with the help only of Sir William Stanley, who had but 300 for their 3,000 foot; and he did most valiantly himself, and his own horse received shot of the musket, and yet himself was not hurt."[38] That Stanley's Irish infantry did actually take part in the battle we learn explicitly again from yet another letter of the Fugger brothers, written on October 9. "The English," we read, "lost many of their own troops and others. Amongst them were thirty wild Irish, who looked so strange that the devil himself would fear them. They at once begged to be killed, and not to be taken before the Prince of Parma. So when his Highness had heard this, he proceeded forthwith in person to see and examine them; but they refused to answer his Highness; and as they were found to be ill of the plague, he immediately had them killed like dogs. There are four or five hundred of these Irish over here. Probably now the winter is coming, they will go back home, for they are naked savages."[39]

Whatever we may think of the accuracy of this account (and again it probably reflects to some extent the rumours of the day), the writer's surmise as to the future of these interesting foreigners was certainly to prove far from accurate. Before the end of October, Sir William Pelham (who was Lord Marshal) together with Stanley, had succeeded by ruse in occupying the fortress town of Deventer, which lay on the river Yssel and was one of the strongest positions in the Province of Overyssel.[40] It was mainly a Catholic town, but Pelham deposed the Catholic councillors and established Calvinists in their stead.[41] By November Stanley and his men, together with a number of English troops, had gone into winter-quarters there, three hundred of the Irish being located in a tower near the gate, described as a large round building with many courts.[42] The town of Zutphen lay only a few miles away and was held for the Spaniards

by Colonel de Taxis; but the fortress of Zutphen was held by Captain Rowland Yorck for the English.

The events which followed during the next few months are in their general outline well known, but it is necessary to recall them here, as they form an integral part of this narrative. It was soon observed that the Irishmen and the Catholic burghers of Deventer were on friendly terms, a fact which caused some anxiety to the Council of the Province of Gueldres, who reported it to their own military headquarters: "The Irish are great papists," they wrote,[43] "and in close friendship with the burghers of the Roman religion." The complaint was passed on three days later to Stanley by Thomas Wilkes, Secretary to the Council, who was then at the Hague.[44] We can safely conclude, however, that this friendship of itself would not have led to any very remarkable developments; for although soldiers may fraternise with the enemy, they will nevertheless fight as they are ordered; and these Catholic Irishmen (many of them at least) appear undoubtedly to have been recruited from forces which had taken part freely in the war against their own Catholic countrymen at home. Here in the Low Countries they would have continued to follow wherever their officers would have led, and their future lay altogether with Stanley their Colonel.

Stanley's own position, however, had likewise fallen under the suspicion of the watchful Council of Gueldres; for in the same letter in which they had expressed their anxiety about the friendliness between soldiers and burghers, they had also reported that an officer of the garrison of Deventer had spent two days with the Spaniards at Zutphen, "where he had much intercourse and good cheer"[45]—the implication being that there were suspicious communications between Deventer and the enemy. Already a month earlier (on November 21) the magistrates of Deventer itself had expressed their resentment at the fact that Stanley had brought in his men from the outlaying forts and had billeted them in the town;[46] and by December they had "sent great complaints against Sir William Stanley . . . . that he seeketh to take from them the keys of their gates, (*and*) seized and holdeth their strength within that by force."[47] Had Stanley already, since November (as these happenings seem to indicate) or even long before, as is often suspected, decided upon his future course of action, and had he, in the meantime, been merely planning its execution? He must certainly have been in early communication with the Governor of Zutphen (and through him with the Prince of Parma), for on 19 January 1587 he surprised all Europe by surrendering Deventer and his whole command to the enemy. Early on that morning he had ridden over to Zuthpen and had returned between five and six o'clock, bringing with him Colonel de Taxis with six hundred foot and three hundred horse; and he had previously instructed his Irish troops, to whom he had entrusted the gate of the town, to allow the Spaniards to enter without opposition.[48] The whole garrison of Deventer, with the exception of three companies,

followed him into the Spanish service, seven hundred and seventeen altogether, consisting of ninety officers and six hundred and twenty-six men.[49] They were left in Deventer for some time, with Stanley still in command and retaining his rank of colonel. On the same day Captain Rowland Yorck had likewise surrendered the fort of Zutphen.

For the history of Stanley's Irishmen his motives in thus acting are of little or no importance and need not here be discussed. It is scarcely necessary to emphasise that whereas by the Spaniards he was received triumphantly, in England he was looked upon as a base traitor.[50] Yorck's men were joined to his, and yet a third group was added about the same time, made up of two hundred Catholic refugee gentlemen who had been gathered for the service of Spain by the well-known English ecclesiastic, Doctor (afterwards Cardinal) Allen.[51] Altogether the three groups, along with a few Scots, were reported in the year 1587 to number 1,200 officers and men. They were left under Stanley's command and became known as Stanley's regiment, or the Irish regiment.[51]

From the Irish standpoint the next eight years (1587–1595) in the history of this mixed body form a distinct period, and for this reason they will be dealt with separately in a further article.

Brendan Jennings

---

[1] *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters, ed.* J. O'Donovan (Dublin, 1848–51).

[2] Matthew O'Connor, *Military history of the Irish nation* (Dublin, 1845). John Cornelius O'Callaghan, *History of the Irish brigades in the service of France* (Dublin, 1854). John Dalton, *Illustrations historical and genealogical of King James's army list* (1689) (Dublin, 1855). Earlier and of great importance are l'Abbé MacGeoghegan, *Histoire de l'Irlande ancienne et moderne* (2 vols. Paris, 1758, and 1762 ; English translation by Patrick O'Kelly, Dublin, 1844). Mrs. Morgan John O'Connell, *The last colonel of the Irish brigade* (2 vols., London, 1892). See also Colonel Watts, *The Irish in the service of France*, in *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, May, 1917.

[3] Richard Hayes, *Ireland and Irishmen in the French Revolution* (Dublin, 1932) ; *Irish swordsmen of France* (Dublin, 1934) ; *A neglected corner of Irish history*, in Studies, xxix, No. 116 ; *Biographical dictionary of Irishmen in France*, in Studies, xxxi, No. 121ff. In all these works one would greatly desire to have the sources and references.

[4] In a letter to the *Sunday Times*, 12 Nov. 1939, Maurice McElligott states : " In 1913 and again after the war (1914–18) I was privileged to examine records preserved in the Kriegsarchiv collection in Vienna, which teems with memoirs of Irish Catholic officers in the armies of the Empress Maria-Theresa." See also Lieut.-Colonel W. O. Cavanagh, *Clan Kavanagh in the imperial service*, in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. lii, part i., pp. 42–51. (Dublin, 1922).

[5] The Marquis Mac Swiney of Mashanaglass, *Notes on some Irish regiments in the service of Spain and Naples*, in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, xxxvii, section C. No. 9, pp. 158ff.

[6] *Cal. State Papers, Ireland*, 1611–14, p. 480, and see the introduction to this volume by C. W. Russell, p. xxxviii.

[7] *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1619–23, p. 237, Chamberlain to Carleton, London, 24 March 1621. " The Polish ambassador has had an audience, and requests men to resist the Turk . . . It is thought he will have leave to raise Scotch or Irish troops." *The same to same*, London, 14 July 1621, ibid. p. 276. " The Polish ambassador has 12,000 lent towards conveying over his Irish regiments."

[8] Letter of Ferdinand II to the Archduchess Elizabeth, in commendation of Sorley MacDonnel, 9 August 1624, in archives, Franciscan Convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin, Louvain Papers.

[9] Mary M. Macken, *Wallenstein and Butler*, in STUDIES, xxiii, No. 92, and Brendan Jennings, *The Irish Franciscans in Prague*, in STUDIES, xxviii, No. 110.

[10] A letter to the Lords of the Council, in *The Perrot Papers*, ed. Charles Mc Neill, in *Analecta Hibernica*, No. xii, Jan. 1943, p. 28. In a letter to Leicester, 20 Feb. 1585–6, Perrot offers to send him 1,000 or 1,500 Irish soldiers, " manie propre shott and the rest hable men for pikes and short weapons, fitt to take pain, swim, live hardlie, and to travell farr for sodaine attempts. If your Lordship can procure warrant for these men I will send them over." Ibid. p. 51.

[11] *Correspondence of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leycester*, ed. John Bruce (London, for the Camden Society, 1848), p. 26. Spelling slightly modernised.

[12] See *Cardinal Allen's defence of Stanley's surrender of Deventer, January* 29, 1586, ed. Thomas Heywood (Printed for the Chetham Society, 1851), p. vii.

[13] Ibid. p. ii. Some account of Stanley's career will be found in L. Atheunis, *Un refugié Catholique aux Pays-Bas, Sir William Stanley* (1548–1630), in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, xix (1923), pp. 352ff.

[14] Famianus Strada S.J., *De Bello Belgico, Decas secunda. Ab initio praefecturae Alexandri Farnesiae Parmae Placentiaeque Ducis III anno* 1578 *usque ad annum* 1590 (Antwerp, 1648), p. 547. " Guilelmus Stanlaeus, nobilis anglus, Comiti Leicestrio adeo carus, ut quamvis Catholicus esse, ac Hispano regi militasse Comes non ignoraret etc." For other evidence, see *Cardinal Allen's defence*, p. iv.

[15] Strada, l.c. p. 533. " Quindecim annos se apud Hibernos arma gestasse."

[16] *Cardinal Allens defence*, p. v.

[17] *The Perrot Papers*, in *Analecta Hibernica* xii, p. 5. *A letter to the Lord Tresorer*, undated, but following on letters dated August 1584. " Leaves Sir William Stanley, sheriff of Cork, to govern Munster, as he is drawing the President with him to Dublin for the North." For Stanley's activities in Ireland, see Richard Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors* (London, 1890), vol. iii.

[18] *Cal. S.P.Ire.*, 1586–8, p. 417, Sir Richard Byngham to Lord Burghley, Utrecht, 3 Oct. 1587.

[19] *Cal. S.P. Foreign*, 1585–6, p. 253.

[20] *Perrot Papers*, p. 60. *Leycester Correspondence*, p. 93.

[21] Ibid. p. 179.

[22] Ibid. p. 180, Sir Thomas Sherley to Leicester.

[23] *Cal. S. P. Foreign*, p. 497. Leicester to Burghley, Utrecht, 29 March 1586.

[24] Sir Thomas Sherley to Leicester, 21 March 1585–6; Walsingham to Leicester, 21 March; and the same to the same, 21 April 1586, *Leycester Correspondance*, pp. 180, 185, and 230.

[25] Walsingham to Leicester, ibid. p. 237.

[26] Walsingham to Leicester, 11 July. Ibid.

[27] Ibid. and *Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1586–8, p. 96, Wallop to Walsingham, 6 July 1586. " In what harsh sort Sir William Stanley hath come by the companies he hath levied here, and how troublesome it hath been to him, I leave to his own report, supposing if care and diligence had been used he might have had two bands of soldiers more than those he hath; the impediment he will tell you."

[28] *Cal. S.P. Foreign*, 1585–6, pp. 618–9.

[29] *Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1586–8, p. 164.

[30] Wallop to Burghley, Dublin, 12 Aug. 1586. Ibid. p. 131.

[31] Ibid. p. 162. Woodhouse had been associated with Stanley in Ulster, and in particular in an action against McDonell Ballagh. *Perrot Papers*, p. 19. A joint letter to the Lords of the Council from the Lord Deputy and this Council, 12 June 1585.

[32] *Leycester Correspondence*, p. 344.

[33] Thomas Lynyall to Walsingham, Chester, 12 July 1586, *Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1586–8, p. 104. " Sir William Stanley and his soldiers have made sail towards Flanders with a merry wind. I trust in God they are upon that coast by this time. I used all the intelligence therein I could to get hence both victual and shipping for sending of the soldiers away."

[34] Burghley to Leicester, *Leycester Correspondence*, p. 360.

[35] *The Fugger News-letters* 1568–1605. *Second Series. Ed.* Victor von Klarwill, translated by L.S.R. Byrne (London,), p. 115. " With their supporters (*the English*) they made an attack against Gravelines, where the governor had an arrangement with the English captain, Lord Stanley, to hand him over the town for a sum of money. Now when the English captain with six hundred English soldiers arrived before this town last Saturday, and sent in his lieutenant with some men, as he himself was suspicious, the inhabitants of the town killed these soldiers, about fifty in number. So the English captain moved back to Dixmude, where his plans likewise failed." There is no reason to believe that Stanley commanded any other than Irish soldiers during this campaign.

[36] Ibid. p. 118, in a letter dated Cologne, 15 Sept. 1586, where it is stated that the Irishmen numbered fifteen hundred.

[37] Strada, *De Bello Belgico*, p. 522, speaking of Leicester's troops : " Erant hi Angli plerique, ac Scoti, quibus se addiderant, ductore Hiberniae Pro-rege, Hiberni mille ac quadringenti, e silvestri omnes genere atque ferino, medio tantum corpore subter umbilicum velati, cetera nudi, graliis seu perticis quarum usus in trajiciendis amnibus, alte impositi, longe aliis superstabant, acubus ac sagittis minaces." As regards apparel, cfr the recommendation of the Privy Council to Mountjoy, 25 March 1602, in *Cal. Carew MSS.* 1601–3, p. 219. " Further we pray your Lordship, as near as you can, that the mere Irish companies may expect no money for apparel, for they are known never to use them."

[38] *Leycester Correspondance*, p. 416, Earl of Leicester to Walsingham, 28 Sept. 1586.

[39] *The Fugger News-letters*, p. 120.

[40] *The Garrisoning of Deventer. Written from Utrecht*, 23 *Oct.* 1586, by Henry Archer, published in *Leycester Correspondance.* See p. 478.

[41] Ibid.

[42] E. Van Meteren, *Historie der Nederlandscher ende haerder naburen oorlogen ende geschiedenissen* (Gravenhage, 1614). Quoted in a Latin translation in *Leycester Correspondance*, p. xxvi. In a letter to the Council of State, 21 November 1586, the magistrates of Deventer report that they have abandoned to Stanley the Noremberger gate. *Cal. S.P. Foreign*, 1586–7, pp. 241–2.

[43] The Council of Gueldres to Count Neunaar, Arnhem, 14 December 1586, in *Cal. S.P. Foreign*, 1586–7, p. 273.

[44] Ibid. pp. 278–9.

[45] The Council of Gueldres to Count Neunaar, 14 Dec. 1586, in *Cal. S.P. Foreign*, 1586–7, p. 273.

[46] Ibid. pp. 241–2.

[47] Thomas Wilkes to the Earl of Leicester, 9 Dec. 1585, ibid. p. 261.

[48] Strada, *De Bello Gallico*, p. 547. Strada is, of course, friendly to Stanley. Heywood, in his introduction to *Cardinal Allen's defence of Sir William Stanley's surrender of Deventer*, pp. xxvff., supplies some details of the surrender from E. van Meteren (see note 42), E. van Reyd, *Historie der Nederlantschen oorlogen begin ende voortganck tot den jare* 1601 (Arnhem, 1628), and H. Grotius, *Annales et historiae de rebus Belgicis* (1566–1609) (Amsterdam 1657).

[49] David Matthews, *The Celtic Peoples and Renaissance Europe* (London, 1933), p. 484, *List of those people who came over to the Duke of Parma*, belonging to the papers of Stanley, in the Valladolid (English College ?) archives, series 2, legajo i. The names of the officers as there given are Colonel Stanley, Captain Piers Fears, Major Thomas Roberton, Captain William Carre, Captain Martin Maynard, Captain George Throckmorton, Captain Robert Piers, Captain Henry Floyd, Henry Jervis. In a letter from Paris, 27 Feb. 1587, Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian ambassador to France, in an account of the surrender, states that " of the many Irish companies in the town only three marched out, the rest declared themselves Catholics, and remained with the army." *Cal. S.P. Venetian*, 1581–1591, p. 249 ; while Leicester in *Cabala* (London ? 1671) states that " the garrison, with the exception of Captains Cosby and Hovenden joined the Spaniards." In *Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1588–89, p. 358, we find *The names of such as served in Sir William Stanley's regiment and are returned home, and are pardoned by her Majesty* [9] " Captains Guyn, O. Salsbury, P. Wyn, R. Bellingsle, Lieutenant Matthew Harte, and pensioners T. Reynolds and W. Haynes." All these names appear to be English or Welsh. On 8 Dec. 1593, the Queen issued instructions concerning the pardon of " eleven poor men ", " for the offence of adhering to Stanley and bearing arms since the giving up of Deventer in the service of the King of Spain until this day ", their names being Robert Jones, Garret Byrne, Thomas Carrell, David Bourke, Wm. M'Edmond, Turlogh M'Kegne, Tybbot Bourke, Ennis O'Neale, Patrick Morohoe, William Jordan, Griffin Cavenoke. *Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Eliz.*, pp. 255–6.

[50] Cal. S.P. Ire., 1586–1588, p. 250, *The Privy Council to the Lord Deputy*, 30 Jan. 1587.

[51] *The memoirs of Father Robert Persons*, ed. by Rev. J. H. Pollen, S.J., Catholic Record Society, Miscellanea ii. p. 69 (London, 1906) : " Nuper ex Anglia venerunt in Belgium circiter 200 juvenes, quorum bona pars ex nobilibus sunt familiis, ut arma exercent contra haereticos, qui omnes opera R.D. Alani, a quo praecipue accepti et honorifice tractati fuerunt, ita ut modo omnes sub ductu nobilissimi cujusdam et zelosissimi juvenis angli pro Rege Catholico militant."

51*bis*. P.Bor, *Oorsprongk, begin en vervolgh der Nederlandsche oorlogen* (1555–1600) (Amsterdam, 1679–84), 21st book, p. 79.

Concerning the service of Irishmen with the Spaniards in the Low Countries, see a very curious and drastic suggestion made as early as 1574 by Fr. David Wolf, S.J., in his *Description of the Realm of Ireland etc., Cal. S.P. Rome* ii. pp. 166 and 167.

ELECTRON WIZARDRY

BY REV. PROFESSOR P. J. MAC LAUGHLIN, D.SC.
St. Patrick's College, Maynooth

LAST century a university professor in Galway argued that electricity is not continuous in structure like water, but rather it is atomic or granular in nature like sand.[1] He believed that experiment would bring to light a natural unit or grain of electricity, to which he gave the name electron. In due course the electron was discovered and isolated. It turned out to be extremely tiny, about two thousand times lighter than the lightest atom. Its charge of electricity was likewise fantastically small. The smallness of mass along with the smallness of charge has made of the electron a wonder-tool. This delicate entity of negligible inertia responds instantaneously and in liveliest fashion to the slightest of forces, and so it serves to detect the faintest of cosmic whisperings. It can be accelerated almost to the speed of light. More suddenly than bat or swallow it swerves in swiftest flight when it scents an electric or magnetic obstacle. In the hand of scientist and technologist the moving electron has become a wizard's wand.

This magic particle is produced in abundance every time a match is struck, every time a pen is pulled out of a pocket ; but electrons liberated in such ways are far from controllable. Biddable electrons can be got by discharging electricity from the negative end or cathode of a vacuum tube. These electrons or cathode rays are the parents of X-rays. Other remarkable effects are associated with the Irish professor's electrical grains. One kind of radio-activity is due to them. The photo-electric effect is also an affair of electrons : it is simply the liberation of electrons which takes place when light shines on a metal. Let us recall too that the rapid development and mammoth spread of wireless was brought about by the application of electronic action in thermionic valves, in which, as the name implies, the minute carriers of electricity are generated by heat.

In the four and a half decades which followed an English professor's realization of an Irish professor's idea, the chief properties of electrons were assiduously studied in laboratories all over the world. The exact nature of the electron became the subject of philosophical speculation. There were numerous applications of electronic devices. The Ariel-like particles afforded men of science a new tool for investigating the fine structure of matter, a tool which in the form of the electron microscope readily found applications in medicine and industry. As essential element in the thermionic valve, the photo-electric cell and the cathode ray tube, electrons revolutionised world-communications as well as changing the whole nature of the cinema and radio industries. They turned the ' silent movies ' into ' talkies '. In industry, electronic devices

[1] G. J. Stoney. His earliest publication on the constitution of matter will be found in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 7 37.

were employed as robots. The electronic appliances of commerce made their way back to the men of science to be developed into new powerful tools specially useful in nuclear physics and in medicine.

The second world war saw an immense expansion in electronics. Under the stress of a life and death struggle between nations the science and practice of the electron grew at a prodigious rate. Electronics became much more than a handmaid to physics and engineering; important new industries sprang from her. The reason for such revolutionary development is not hard to find. More than any other war in history, the late war was a war of technicians. The various new weapons used were but applications of scientific principles notwithstanding their being called 'secret weapons'. Of major value among such weapons were certain electronic devices which were found to be of first-rate importance in tactical operations: ultimately they came to influence the course of the war. A considerable part of the war was marked by a grim combat of electronic 'measure and counter-measure' between Allied and German scientists. The high role played by electronics may be estimated from the fact that the bulk of scientific man-power in the war was devoted to two subjects: the atomic bomb and electronics. For deciding the war in Europe it was the latter subject which was paramount.

An account of the revolution in electronics occasioned by the war has just been published. Entitled *Electronics and their Application in Industry and Research*,[1] a striking feature is the multiple authorship which reflects the complexity and extent of the subject and is an index to the value of the several contributions. The book is by a team of fourteen specialists captained by Dr. Bernard Lovell, a physicist of the younger school. In spite of the multiple authorship, which is in itself worth mentioning as a sign of the times, approximate unity of treatment is achieved: there is little redundancy, and overlapping occurs only in a minor degree. Nearly all the authors deal with their part of the subject in a manner which will be found acceptable by research workers and students of physical science. The only exception is two chapters by one author which are clouded by an excess of matter and technical terms: they lack the directness of the rest of the book. In these two chapters one hardly sees the wood for the trees. The book is a substantial account of the newer developments in electronics, the first to appear. The main war-time advances are recorded and peace-time applications are considered. All through the emphasis is on recent work. Thus the thermionic valve is discussed not for its applications in wireless but in view of the remarkable devices which made radar a powerful appliance—the klystron and the magnetron. The subject of X-rays as such is not mentioned, but the betatron for generating X-rays of high energy is dealt with. The electron microscope is fully described, but wireless technique is omitted in favour

[1] London: The Pilot Press. 1947. Pp. xvi+660. Illus. 404. 42s.

of radar and television. A feature of the production is the illustrations, which are notable for their large number and good quality. Taking the book all round, we find it a vast improvement on what we have received from Britain in late years. The book is written primarily for the physicist and technician, but there are several chapters which are of special interest to medical men. Indeed some are indispensable for the radiologist and radiotherapist who desire to be up-to-date. Much of the book makes appeal, by its subject-matter, to the amateur of science ; and it is the purpose of this article to present a view of such sections as are calculated to interest the general reader.

It will make for easier understanding if we first say a further word about the three basic forms of electronic apparatus. Controllable electrons, we said, are usually generated in a vacuum. There are three chief modes of generation : by heat in the thermionic valve, by electricity in the cathode-ray tube, and by light in the photo-cell, as the name suggests. The movement of an electron is controlled by means of suitably shaped plates of metal which are either electrified or magnetised. The thermionic valve, which is familiar to everybody from its employment in radio sets, can be itself used in three distinct ways : first as a generator of wireless waves and high frequency currents, second as a sensitive detector, and third as a prodigious magnifier of currents and radiations. A valve put astride a magnet constitutes a magnetron, the appliance which revolutionised radar by making it possible to generate very short waves at great power. The thermionic valve, in one way or another, is the key instrument in servo-mechanisms—to be described later. Appropriate modification of control plates in a cathode-ray tube provides us in one case with the electron microscope and in another case with the betatron for producing high-energy electrons and X-rays. The modifications are so elaborate, it must be said, that these are cases of the tail being bigger than the dog. The application of a pulsing electric pressure to the control plates and the addition of a fluorescent screen to show up the track of the electrons furnish us with the cathode-ray oscillograph. Such a contrivance has a host of uses ranging from a viewer in television to a stopwatch which measures down to the millionth of a second in radar. The light rays which generate an electronic current in the photocell may belong to the invisible parts of the spectrum : infra-red radiations or ultra-violet light may be just as effective as ordinary day-light. Hence it is easy to understand the use of such a cell in a burglar-alarm system. A person passing through the invisible beam interrupts the electronic current and this triggers off the alarm. The photo-cell is a basic instrument in robot controls of manufacturing processes as well as in television and sound-film units.

Radar

Outstanding among electronic applications is radar. The story of

radar began in the period between the two world wars when anxiety was felt in England about how vulnerable the country was to attack from the air. In great secrecy for several years British scientists developed the technique of radio echoes, which had been used somewhat earlier for exploring the upper atmosphere ; and they arrived at a method of locating aircraft by means of wireless waves which they called radio-location. Thanks to a stupendous piece of engineering, by 1939 they had provided their coasts with radar stations capable of accurately locating distant aircraft. It is a matter of common knowledge that this ingenious system, by saving the fighter patrols, was the chief factor in deciding the battle of Britain.

Radar also played a leading part in the Biscay Bay battle. This is the battle which went on between planes and submarines from 1941 to 1943. It is a notable case of scientific measure and counter-measure. At first the submarines were easy winners. Then the planes were furnished with radar units which enabled them to spot submarines on the surface of the water on the darkest night or through thick cloud and fog. The appliance struck terror into the hearts of the U-boat crews, and they preferred to surface in day-light for fresh air and to charge their batteries. German scientists provided a counter, ' Metox ', a simple radio device which warned a U-boat that a plane was raying it and homing on it. To offset ' Metox ' the wavelength of the radar sets was changed and their accuracy improved. There followed an absolute slaughter of the U-boats (May 1943) which decided the Battle of the Bay. Hitler without doubt referred to this special type of radar when he said that " the temporary set back to our U-boats is due to a single technical invention of our enemies."

The naval battle of Cape Matapan was another triumph for radar. The action took place on a pitch dark night at ranges so great that the Italian fleet had at first no idea that enemy ships were at hand. Out of the darkness came shells of the largest calibre, directed by radar with deadly accuracy. The Italian fleet was scattered and many of its ships were sunk almost before it had realised what was happening. In this engagement radar enabled the British Navy to take advantage of the enormous ranges of modern big guns.

The term radar now denotes a group of techniques based on the accurate timing of radio reflections.[1] The name originated in America

[1] There is a considerable number of these techniques. Prominent among them are : AI (Aircraft Interception), ASV (Air Surface Vessel) used by planes to locate submarines, CHL (Chain-low-flying) a radar station technique, GCI (ground controlled interception) which scanned the whole dome of the sky and showed on the screen of a large PPI tube (plan position indicator) a sky map containing all aircraft flying within many miles, GL (gun-laying) radar used by anti-aircraft artillery, H_2S the ' magic box ' which maps the ground below a flying plane, IFF (identification friend or foe), ' Oboe ' which directed bombers to their precise target, ' Rebecca-Eureka ' devised for glider and parachute landings, SLC (searchlight control) a searchlight aid. Radar is an abbreviation of ' Radio Angle Direction And Range '.

and it has practically replaced the older term ' radio-location '. The latter has now a specialised meaning and does not cover as wide a field as the term ' radar '.

The first landmark in the development of radar was the determination of the height of the atmosphere in 1928 by timing radio reflections. This echo-sounding method was applied in 1935 to locate distant aircraft that were both invisible and inaudible. During the war quite a number of other advances were made before 1942 when a great step forward took place with the introduction of centimetric or ultra-short wave radiation. This turned radar into a high precision technique. The advance was due to a special type of valve, the magnetron, which solved the difficult problem of producing very short waves under high power, necessary for sharp echoes. The most spectacular of radar appliances was derived from this centimetric technique—namely, the device H_2S. This was the production of a map of the ground under the flying aircraft ; and the map could be got by night or through cloud as well as from a clear sky. It is a truly amazing achievement. It is bound to have important applications in peace-time.

The principle of radar is the same as the principle of sound-ranging. In both cases waves travel out from a transmitter to an object, bounce back off the object and return as echoes. The time for the to-and-fro journey is measured and gives the distance of the object, the speed of travel being known. As wireless waves travel about a fifth of a mile in the millionth of a second, a very special kind of stopwatch is needed to time their journeys. We have already seen that a modification of the cathode-ray tube provides us with the required time-piece.

One of the most astonishing things about radar is that, on occasion, it enables us to see round the curvature of the earth or ocean. Ships far below the horizon can be viewed by low-sited radar stations : distant coast lines not usually observed can give strong radio echoes. The explanation is that the wireless waves employed in radar do not always travel in straight lines. Sometimes the lower layers of the atmosphere act as a radio duct after the fashion of a speaking-tube for sound waves. The radio waves are bent round the curvature of the earth or sea, and are reflected back along the same curved path. This abnormal bending of radio waves by the atmosphere constitutes a kind of radio mirage, and it is analogous to the optical phenomenon. Like the optical phenomenon it depends on the meteorological state of the atmosphere.

When one desires to obtain an echo from an object so as to locate its position in space, it is not always necessary to depend on the weak radar reflection to provide the echo. In the case of a friendly plane, for instance, one may produce a strong artificial echo by provoking a small transmitter on the plane to re-radiate an incident pulse. Such a device constitutes

a radar responder. Responders were first introduced as a means of identifying friendly aircraft. Later they were extensively used as navigational aids, somewhat after the fashion of rear reflectors on bicycles or ' cats' eyes' on roadways.

Besides serving as stopwatches in radar equipment, cathode-ray tubes are employed to display to advantage the news gathered by a radar system. The ' magic-eye ' or tuning indicator of the household wireless is a simple form of cathode-ray tube used as a display. A great deal of study has been devoted to radar displays on account of the need for rapid and facile interpretation of the information collected. Television, in which display is also of great importance, has benefited by the work done in developing radar display appliances.

As is commonly the way with new techniques, radar methods are finding application in many branches of science and technology. Radio waves are employed in aerial surveying to map out territory inaccessible to ground parties. In meteorology, radar equipment is used to study cloud structure and the mysterious mechanism of rain formation. Radar has already proved its worth in very short range weather forecasting : it gives an actual picture of any rain which is not far away from the observer. The vagaries of radar waves have called the attention of meteorologists to phenomena in the lowest regions of the atmosphere previously overlooked. In consequence of radar attack, upper layers of our air-ocean are uncovering some of their secrets. For example, at high levels tidal action of unexpectedly large amount—over half a mile—has been discovered. Employment of radar technique continues to bring in information about the fine structure of the ionosphere, that layer of the heavens with clouds made out of electrons, whose existence went unsuspected by the ancients. Radar equipment originally designed for the detection of aircraft is now being used to detect meteor trails or ' falling stars '. The advantage of the method is that it can be employed as well by day as by night and regardless of the weather. The astronomer has found in radar a tool for exact measurement of the moon's distance from the earth. By means of radar equipment the astrophysicist investigates solar noise and the queer rumblings that emanate from as far off as the Milky Way. These discords of the celestial spheres are an element in the ' atmospherics ' which occasionally trouble our wireless reception of an evening. Radar is thus a technique of promise for terrestrial solar and cosmic physics, and quite a number of discoveries have already been made. The chief ones to date are related to the solar and galactic radio noises. It is found that solar noises are associated with sunspots, and that a sunspot is in fact the most powerful ultra-short wave radio station known. There are two chief sources of galactic noises : the greater disturbance originating in Sagittarius and a lesser one in Cygnus. The former is constant, while the latter fluctuates.

A well-known phenomenon in natural history, for long a puzzle to naturalists, finds its solution in a parallel to radar. Bats are proverbially blind, but they avoid obstacles in remarkable fashion. Even in total darkness they evade traps set in their flight-path. There is now clear evidence that bats operate a supersonic system analogous to radar or supersonic ranging.[1] Emitting very high pitch vibrations, they take warning from the echo of these ultrasonics. Even thin wire and thread reflect sufficient echo to produce in the bat's ear a clue about obstruction to flight. It is remarkable that it was not until radar had been some years in use that the secret of a bat's system of navigation was penetrated.

Servo-mechanisms

There is something approaching the uncanny in electronic servo-mechanisms, the slave-instruments in which the electron, like the genie of Arabian tales, executes in its own wondrous fashions the will of the operator. The predictor of an anti-aircraft gun strikes us with a thrill of the marvellous when we come into its presence : we cannot but be awed by a robot that contains in itself the instincts of a physicist, the brain of a mathematician, and the vision of a prophet. Less complex but no less wonderful is the mechanism ' Elsie ' which guides the search-light into position on a fast-moving unheard unseen target. These instances of servo-mechanisms owe most of their superhuman skill to electronics. Such contrivances are in many cases actuated by a motor whose behaviour is directed by the *difference* between desired and actual position of gun, searchlight or other load. By means of a low-power lever or wheel the operator sets a pointer to the desired position, and the mechanism brings the load to this position even if the position is changing from instant to instant. Sometimes the human operator is dispensed with. In the automatic steering of ships, a photo-cell measures the deviation of a ship from its compass course and sets in operation a mechanism to annul the deviation. In the many kinds of automatic pilot employed in aircraft, electronic apparatus achieves results that would tax, if not baffle, the powers of the man at the joy-stick. For instance, to effect a proper turning of a plane, ailerons rudder and elevators must all co-operate in due measure, and it would strain a human pilot to attain the requisite harmony of movements. Platforms for stabilising gun-mounts on battleships gave headaches to fire-control officers before the war. The guns were aimed by local hand-control, and great difficulty was experienced in keeping guns on the target against the ship's roll yaw and pitch. Remote control of gun-mountings by slave-mechanisms has largely solved the problem. With an electronic system a rapid tight and smooth response to a remote control is now obtained.

Not less remarkable is the use of servo-mechanisms in quite a different

[1] Galambos and Griffin. *J. Exp. Zoology.* **86** 481 and **89** 475 (1941–42).

sphere, for computing. Two types of calculating machine depend on electronically-actuated slave-mechanisms. One is used to calculate integrals; and the other, the *differential analyser*, solves differential equations which mathematicians find difficult or impossible to solve by the usual methods. In industrial fields, electronic apparatus of all sorts is being increasingly used to control machinery and processes.

Electronics in Medicine

Medicine has always sought to utilise new developments in physical science, and it has not been slow to employ the new instruments and new techniques of electronics, from the X-ray tubes of Rontgen in the nineteenth century down to the cyclotron and betatron of to-day. The last two instruments allow us to accelerate small particles to very high energies, and such miniature projectiles are of considerable interest to medical science. As a result of recent advances the radio-therapist has now at his disposal three new kinds of penetrating radiation: neutrons, fast electrons, and supervoltage X-rays. Let us recall that the aim of the therapist in malignant disease is to destroy the cancerous tumour by administering sufficient radiation to kill the tumour cells without permanent damage to the neighbouring healthy tissue. Malignant cells are usually less resistant to radiation than normal cells, and the success of ray treatment comes from exploiting the difference in sensitivity, small as it may be. The therapist seeks to give the largest dose that healthy tissue will stand, in the hope that no malignant cell will be left to revive and multiply and later on form a recurrence of the original growth. A property of the new radiations is that they allow a heavy dose to be administered to a deep-seated tumour without undue damage to the skin. The biological response of the new radiations is very remarkable: it actually increases with depth up to the end of their range. The therapist who has been content in the past to work 'by instinct' with ordinary X-rays will find it hard to visualise a beam which increases in strength as it goes through the body. The danger now is that the skin on the far side may be damaged. Care is needed in the application of these radiations, and therapists must be physicists as well as physicians. The new radiations approach the ideal of the radio-therapist in that they have a definite and limited range in the tissues.

The cyclotron products of interest in medicine are radio-active isotopes. Isotopes are subclasses of a chemical element. The isotopes of an element cannot be distinguished from one another by chemical means, but they differ in some of their physical properties. For the chemist there is only one kind of carbon, but the physicist is familiar with radioactive carbon and non-radioactive carbon. The radioactive isotope of carbon can be used as a 'tracer' or indicator to tell us what happens to carbon in a chemical or physical process. A little of it is added to ordinary

carbon and the mixture is then fed to a plant or animal we wish to study. The radioactive isotope permits us to follow out the ensuing processes, because the radioactive atoms are miniature flashing X-ray units and we can keep them in sight by focusing an electric or photographic ' eye ' on them. Interesting ' autophotographs ' show the spread of an element in an organism or the course of an element in metabolism. Many fascinating problems can be solved by the method of radioactive indicators. Experiments with these tracer or spy elements reveal that the chemical equilibrium which obtains between constituents of living organisms is dynamic in character. So far the employment of radioactive isotopes in the treatment of disease has yielded mixed results.

High frequency oscillations generated by electronic apparatus are used in medicine for two main purposes. In therapy a generalised heating of the body is attained by means of these short waves. The system is therefore sometimes called short-wave therapy. The term diathermy is also used because the heat is produced throughout the tissue and is more than a surface effect. In surgical diathermy a localised destructive heating of tissues is aimed at. The advantage of electro-therapy is that the current seals and sterilises as it cuts, reducing bleeding and preserving aseptic conditions. Electro-surgery is the method of choice for brain operations because it does away with the need for pressure during the cutting process. Bleeding is arrested without ligatures, which can do damage to the fragile tissues.

Another use of high-frequency oscillations is to locate metal objects. When the search coil comes near a bullet or piece of shrapnel in the body, the frequency of the oscillating current changes (by inductance). The change is made audible by a well-known method. The mine detector of the soldier is the same in principle as the metal finder of the surgeon. The principle has been applied in industry.

Electronics has given new life to the science of acoustics, and it is not to be wondered at if the revolutionary advances made in this branch of knowledge have repercussions in medicine. The practical importance of acoustics in radio-communications evoked an immense amount of work on all aspects of the generation, transmission and reception of sound. It is inevitable that medical men should adopt the new techniques for testing the hearing function. The ancient methods of the tuning-fork and the watch-tick are things of the past.

Electronics brings an aid to the blind. This it does by means of the photo-cell. The photo-cell is employed in medicine for a variety of purposes : its use as a sensory aid for those who cannot see is an unusual and inspiring application of photo-electricity. By means of the new device, blinded soldiers have learned to locate obstacles and find their way about in comparative safety. The appliance is essentially a portable ranging unit which gives ear indication of the angle between an outgoing

ray of light and its reflection from an obstacle. The range is given in terms of a coded sound. Thus a high-pitch note warns that an obstruction is near, a low note that it is remote. By means of the musical notes heard as an exploring beam swings to and fro, the victim of blindness quickly learns to estimate the distance and extent of obstacles.

Physiologists claim that the thermionic amplifier has brought them a spectacular increase of knowledge in the last two decades, but the onlooker may be pardoned if he considers such a statement prompted more by enthusiasm than by facts. In the words of one of themselves, physiologists are ' exploring avenues ' when they are engaged in exploring the nervous system with electronic appliances.[1] Many of the records made in electro-neurology only serve to increase the stock of mystifying anomalies, and they appear to belong to the same category as some meteorological records. Apart from the electro-cardiograph which is necessary for diagnosing heart conditions, and the electro-encephalograph which is required for the study of the brain, electric equipment used to register small bio-electric potentials of nerves and muscles has so far led to nothing definite. There is need of a theory and an interpreter to make sense out of the electronic recordings. The present must be regarded as a fact-finding period and the physiologist should go forth in a spirit of adventure. No one knows what will be found, and no one has grounds for prediction.

Future generations will, there can be no doubt, look back on the fourth decade of our century as the beginning of a revolution in optics as significant for knowledge as the revolution initiated three hundred years ago with the invention of the light microscope. The first electron microscope was built in 1931 ; a commercial model was manufactured in 1939 ; and the instrument is now in flow production. It is required in all work concerned with the fine structure of matter. Its improvement on the optical microscope is of the same order as the advantage of the latter over the unaided eye. The electronic instrument can show particles about ten atoms thick. It is particularly useful in biology. The essential units of living matter, the genes, the viruses and the protein structures generally lie within its size-range. They are being explored according as suitable methods are discovered for dissecting and staining them.

A fair account of the achievements to date with the electron microscope will be found in the book under review. It shows that the instrument has already been of value in shedding light on the action of bacteriophages (bacteria destroyers) and bacteriostatic agents such as penicillin. Some remarkable photographs are reproduced with the text.

P. J. Mac Laughlin

[1] R. J. Pumphrey, *loc. cit.*, p. 493.

MADAME de MAINTENON AND SAINT-CYR

BY JOHN LEONARD, S.J.

MADAME DE MAINTENON remains an enigma for historians. The shallow opinion which sees in her merely the puritan who extinguished the brilliance of court life and darkened the latter years of Le Roi Soleil still persists, in spite of Voltaire who had the sense to understand that a good king is better than a libertine and economy wiser than display. The severities that followed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes are (unjustly) laid to her account; and her reputation still suffers from the immense rancour caused by her influence as the king's favourite, which has overflowed in innumerable *Mémoires* and pamphlets. In the eighteen-fifties Théodore Lavallée published his *Histoire de la Maison royale de Saint-Cyr* and his voluminous edition of *Les Oeuvres de Madame de Maintenon*. Here you may find all that the loving piety of Madame's early disciples had collected; and modern apologists still draw largely on Lavallée's work. But the Abbé Langlois, who edited her letters just before the war, is less uncritical in his admiration.[1] He has indeed mingled quite a deal of gall with his ink in what he has written, especially of the quarrel with Fénelon. The latest biographer of Madame de Maintenon seeks once more to defend her against the charges brought by so able a critic.[2] In her preface Madame Daniélou explains the Abbé's severity, partly by his great love for Fénelon, partly on the plea that his judgment has been obscured by too great knowledge. The Abbé, she complains, has observed Madame from too close at hand, as though she were an old aunt whose faults are seen only too plainly, but whose real goodness is better seen by comparative strangers. Strangers, however, do not have to live with old aunts; and many of those who lived in close contact with Madame de Maintenon would perhaps have found the Abbé's severe judgments not too unfair. Nevertheless Madame Daniélou has written a fascinating book. An educationist herself, she confines her study to Madame de Maintenon's work for education; and she has succeeded in making Saint-Cyr, with all its *dames* and *demoiselles*, live again as fresh and novel as it was in the closing years of the *grand siècle*. The idea of Saint-Cyr was not a sudden flash of inspiration, and a brief sketch of Madame de Maintenon's early life may help to explain her educational programme.

I

Constant d'Aubigné, son of the fanatical Huguenot poet Agrippa d'Aubigné, was a disappointment to his father. The old warrior, a friend

[1] *Lettres de Madame de Maintenon*, 4 vols. (Letouzey, 1935–9). He published a formal biography (*Madame de Maintenon*) in 1932.

[2] Madeleine Daniélou: *Madame de Maintenon, éducatrice*. (Bloud et Gay, 1946).

of Henry of Navarre before his conversion, had hoped that his son would carry on the bitter struggle against the Catholic faith ; but Constant had little time for religion of any kind. After a dissolute youth, spent in love-making, gambling and adventure, he became a Catholic—and then continued as before. While in prison for debt at Bordeaux, at the age of forty-five, he married a girl of seventeen, who was the daughter of the prison's governor. Eight years later he was lying in a different prison at Niort. His wife had followed him and it was thus in the prison of Niort that his daughter, Françoise d'Aubigné, was born in 1635. She lived to become Madame de Maintenon, the secret wife of Louis XIV and the foundress of Saint-Cyr.

The child's early life was not happy. Until she was nine years of age her father was constantly in prison. Cardinal Mazarin finally released him and appointed him governor of a French settlement in the West Indies. But Constant had scarcely landed in Martinique when he sailed back to France, leaving his wife and children behind him, worse off than ever. Eventually they came home, and Françoise was entrusted to the care of a Huguenot aunt. She was rescued from these heretical surroundings by her sponsor in baptism, a fervent Catholic but a disagreeable old lady, who sent her as a boarder to the Ursuline Sisters, first at Niort and then at Paris. Madame Daniélou accepts as authentic the letter which the young girl wrote to her Huguenot aunt, complaining of the harsh treatment in the convent. She even credits the story, told later by the Dames de Saint-Cyr, that the young girl demanded a formal debate between a Catholic priest and a Huguenot minister, after which she became a convinced Catholic. Whatever truth there may be in this legend, she left the convent-school a Catholic, but with little love for nuns or convent life. " I preferred marriage to a convent," she said later when speaking of her union with the poet Scarron.

This marriage was to come soon. She had occasionally been taken to the *salon* which Scarron held and which was ranked next to that of Rambouillet. Her beauty and quiet demeanour attracted the crippled poet who described himself, truthfully and touchingly, as an epitome of human misery. She was still but fifteen when he proposed to her and was accepted. For the next eight years, all that remained of Scarron's life, she acted as his nurse and presided over his literary reunions. These were very different from those of Rambouillet. Anything that savoured of preciosity was ridiculed, and a realism—crude enough to be almost modern —was the fashion. But Madame Scarron's reserve and dignity were never compromised. Amid the conversation, which was always brilliant and often obscene, she held herself a little apart and won the respect of all. When, at the age of twenty-three she found herself a widow, she was certainly no richer ; but she had made friends and acquaintances among many of the great nobles, and had gained a knowledge of life and letters

which amply made up for any lacunae in the education which she had received from the Ursulines.

Influential friends soon procured for her a small pension from Anne of Austria, the Queen Mother. For the next few years she often held the position of companion in the house of some great lady—an ill-defined equivocal position which was painful to so independent a nature. While not a servant, she was scarcely a friend; and, as Saint-Simon observes sarcastically, many of the duties she had to perform "have become unnecessary once the use of bells was introduced." It was Madame de Montespan who first brought her to court. A trustworthy person was required to bring up the children of the king's favourite, and she was chosen. At first her position was unofficial and secret; but, once the children had been legitimised, she lived openly at Versailles and began to win the respect of the king. After the fall of Madame de Montespan and the death of the Queen, she became the king's wife by the secret marriage of 1683. It had been a long journey from the prison-cell in Niort. Everything had led, mysteriously, to this mysterious marriage: the years of poverty in Martinique and France; her descent into the *bourgeoisie* as Scarron's wife; her new title, which had come with the lands of Maintenon; her conscientious care of the royal children; her own character, severe, reserved, upright; and above all her judgment formed by such varied and often bitter experiences.

II

When Madame de Maintenon found herself officially installed at the court of Versailles, her interest in education quickly went further than the care of her royal charges. She started a school for newly converted Huguenots and for poor children at Rueil. Soon there was another at Noisy. Poor children of the nobility began to be admitted, and there exists an unfortunate letter to Madame de Brinon, who was then teaching at Rueil. What a pity that her talents were being wasted on so many ragamuffins! How much better they would be employed in teaching the children of the nobles! Even Madame Daniélou admits that her heroine rather despised the children of the *bourgeoisie*.

We are now well on the way to Saint-Cyr. The king, who had already shown an interest in Noisy, was soon won to this new project. Two hundred and fifty poor girls, children of the *noblesse*, were to be educated free of all charge. Louis had already put his hand to the work of Catholic education: he was weary of the immorality and factions of Versailles, and he saw the new foundation as a centre of unity, patriotism, purity and all Christian virtues which would benefit the realm. Besides, he had confidence in Madame de Maintenon, and their ideas on most matters were very similar. In the first place Saint-Cyr (for that was the site chosen) would not be a convent. Madame de Maintenon's recollections of her

own school-days were not happy. Both she and the king felt that, apart perhaps from religious instruction, children were badly taught in the convents of those days: the training for life which children received in convent-schools was unsuitable or insufficient. In some they went about with downcast eyes and were initiated into practices of poverty as though they were novices; in many a bell was rung in warning as soon as a man crossed the threshold. Children left such schools unfitted for the world of their day, in which men were numerous and warning bells far fewer.

In other establishments the education was what we should now call worldly. M. Georges Lenotre, that indefatigable searcher after piquant details in history, has some interesting pages on life in convent schools frequented by more aristocratic children.[1] The little girl who was later the Princess de Ligne had a suite of rooms at her disposal in the abbey of Notre-Dame aux Bois in the rue de Sèvres. Here she passed her day, between classes, with her maids and her chaperon, writing childish *Mémoires* in a big round hand and living on an allowance which, in our modern money, would amount to about £7,500 a year. In the convent of Cherche-Midi the boarders were allowed to entertain their friends to supper, "without distinction of age or sex." In one convent school some noble young Frenchmen, who were on their travels and were waiting for a boat to take them to the Azores, were invited to a ball in the parlour of the convent. They were, however, separated from their young partners by a grille, while the Lady Abbess, throned on a dais, beat time with her crozier and saw that all was in order.

The new Dames de Saint-Cyr were not to be religious in the full sense of that term. They were to be a teaching community with simple vows—but under the jurisdiction of no Ordinary and, as far as possible, independent of Canon Law. Their habit was designed by the king and his wife. His Majesty was most insistent that the familiar titles "Mother" and "Sister" should not be used. The old honourable French family names were to be kept, with *Madame* prefixed, and it was hoped that many of these ladies would be of noble birth, so that a list of the Dames de Saint-Cyr would read like a lesson in French history, not like a litany of the saints. On the material side the king was most generous. The foundation was well endowed, so that the two hundred and fifty pupils could be supported without help either from their parents or from any one outside the institution. It was also decided that the school should be built from the ground up: no existing buildings were to be used. "We want neither a convent nor a palace," said Madame de Maintenon; and what she got was in fact a vast and a nobly planned school, with gardens, courts, shady alleys and good playing-grounds. Napoleon turned it into a military academy, and as such it lasted until the other day, when allied bombs—

[1] *La Petite Histoire*, vol. X. *En France jadis*. (Grasset, 1938).

destined for a neighbouring air-field—reduced it to rubble. The school was also splendidly furnished. The king insisted that the table-ware, spoons and goblets should be of solid silver, not of convent pewter. The linen was such " as would last for fifty years." The children's uniform was pretty and becoming. Classrooms were bright and were hung with tapestries in the colour of each class, of which there were four: red, green, yellow, blue. The dormitories were decked with snowy curtains and ribbons of these same colours. Each child had her own books and toilet requirements, including a weekly provision of powder.

III

All was ready at last when the new institute was opened on August 1st, 1686. The girls rushed in to explore this paradise, the gift of their king and of " Madame." It was the answer to a seventeenth-century maiden's prayer—provided that the maiden was poor, between the ages of seven and twelve, and could count four degrees of nobility on the paternal side. The experiment aroused much interest, and was widely approved. Even Père La Chaise, the king's Jesuit confessor (for whom Madame de Maintenon had as a rule little time), was in full agreement. " The girls," he said, " will be better educated by persons who are not cut off from the world. The object of this foundation is not to multiply convents, which multiply enough of themselves, but to give the state well-educated women. We have enough good religious, but not enough good mothers. The improved education of Saint-Cyr will produce great virtues, and great virtues, instead of being buried in the cloister, should help to sanctify the world."[1]

The first Superior of Saint-Cyr was Madame de Brinon. She had once been an Ursuline nun, but her convent had been broken up through poverty. She still retained something of her former educational vocation and had helped Madame de Maintenon in her first experiment at Rueil. Even in those early years there had been differences of opinion, quarrels and reconciliations, for they were both women of great ability and strong views. It is on the question of Madame de Brinon that apologists and critics of Madame de Maintenon differ most profoundly. For many, and notably for the Abbé Langlois, Madame de Brinon is the injured innocent, often unjustly treated but suffering herself to be reconciled—ever responding with infinite kindness and forgiveness to the advances of Madame de Maintenon. Madame Daniélou, on the other hand, can find almost nothing to say in her favour. She was brilliant, but her judgment and taste were unsound. Her gifts were those of a preacher rather than of a teacher. She spoke with great ease and, on Sunday after Mass, would comment on the gospel with much unction, attracting many strangers to the chapel. These homilies she would bring to an end by

[1] Cited by Lavallée: *Histoire de la Maison royale de Saint-Cyr* (1856), p. 40.

giving her blessing in Latin, like a bishop. She was extravagant, so the charge continues, and worldly. Her expenses were huge : she decorated her room with hangings and flowers, and she kept numerous canaries. She was ready to breed poultry and bake and wash for the whole community. She did her own cooking in her own room and spoilt the floor ; she travelled excessively for her health's sake ; she was haughty and proud : all the small ammunition of war between two women can be found in Madame Daniélou's pages.

Madame de Maintenon, on the other hand, was almost infallible in her judgment and was not authoritarian. Yet surely the great lady's judgment was at fault when, looking for a woman who was to be superior in name only, she chose Madame de Brinon. If Madame de Maintenon was not authoritarian, she left others their liberty of action only as long as that action suited her own ideas. There is a revealing sentence in a letter she wrote to a temporary director of her conscience when Madame de Brinon was helping her at Rueil. " She (Madame de Brinon) is absolutely necessary to us in the beginning ; if it turns out that she does not do what God demands of her, we shall have to look for someone else."[1] Coming from a woman of Madame de Maintenon's stamp, that tells us enough. Madame de Brinon must have done what God demanded of her at Rueil well enough, since she was chosen to guide the new institute in its first years, write its constitutions under Madame de Maintenon's direction, and train the novices of this strange community, about whose precise legal status and future development nobody seems to have had very clear ideas.

Later on, when the time had come for Madame de Brinon to be dismissed, she was accused of having created a worldly spirit in the house and of having turned the young ladies into blue-stockings by her literary education. But at first her wide reading, courtly manners and eloquence were thought indispensable. Faults of taste there were, as Madame Daniélou insists. She was learned ; therefore the Fathers of the Church were read in community recreation : the Dames de Saint Louis were bored. But she was also up-to-date and tried to amuse them with Molière : they were shocked. Then she had plays acted by the children ; but they were so deplorably bad that Madame de Maintenon, fearing that their literary appreciation would be utterly ruined, decided that in future the children should play Corneille and Racine. All went well at first, for the performances were mediocre ; but one day the young actresses surpassed themselves in a performance of *Andromaque*. Hence the famous letter to Racine : " Our little girls played *Andromaque* yesterday, and they played it so well that they shall never play it again, nor any other play of yours."

[1] Cited by Auguste Bailly : *Madame de Maintenon*, p. 212. (Les Editions de France, 1942).

Racine then agreed to write *Esther* and *Athalie*, plays more suitable for the young *demoiselles*. After a private dress rehearsal *Esther* was played before the king. The preparations had been tremendous, for Madame de Maintenon (so her apologists say) wished to cure the king of his taste for the ruinously extravagant *fêtes* of Versailles, and it was thus important that this simple entertainment should go off well. The Persian costumes were carefully made, and were adorned with the diamonds and pearls which the king had worn at ballets in his younger days. The wardrobe alone cost Madame de Maintenon over £3,000 of our money. The school-apartments were turned into a splendid theatre, lit by crystal chandeliers. Finally all was ready for the fateful day: Wednesday, 26 January 1689. The performance was a great success. The king was delighted: soon all Versailles wanted to see it; but admission was not easily procured. The king himself stood at the door of the hall, list in hand, barring the way with his stick, which was only lowered when he was satisfied that the invitation was genuine. Madame de Sévigné herself had some trouble in obtaining a card. At one representation, given in honour of the exiled James II, three crowned heads were present. At another, known as " la journée des saints ", Bossuet himself was present with Bourdaloue and seven other Jesuits, who were charmed and found nothing to criticise. With each performance the girls played better, coached and prompted by Racine himself from the wings. He showed himself so well able to manage the children that the community agreed that at a pinch he would be as good as any mistress. The music was splendidly rendered: *choeurs* and *intermèdes* had been composed by Moreau, Master of the King's Music and Musician-in-Ordinary to Saint-Cyr.[1] The beautiful voices of the children, strengthened for the performance by " les plus sages et les plus habiles des musiciennes du Roi," were accompanied by the king's orchestra. The audience was enraptured: at Versailles people spoke of nothing but *Esther*.

IV

One voice, however, was missing from this chorus of praise. The silence was ominous, and at last the voice spoke. It was the voice of M. Hébert, the Lazarist parish priest of Versailles, and he did not mince his words. Surely it was known to everybody that vanity was the dominant vice of the fair sex, and here was Madame de Maintenon exposing her children to the applause and compliments of the court. Did she not see the danger? Did she not fear the pride, the jealousies, the rivalries that would be caused in the school? Boys might well perform on the stage,

[1] Moreau's music is once more available, and is often performed now in preference to Mendelssohn's, as being more in harmony with the beauty of the plays. The music of both *Esther* and *Athalie* is published by the Bureau d'Edition de la Schola Cantorum, 269 Rue Saint-Jacques, Paris.

as they did in the Jesuit schools; but this case was different. Girls should be taught to flee the world, etc. etc.

Madame de Maintenon was finally convinced by these arguments and by the logic of facts. Several marriages resulted from the performance of *Esther*. There was even an elopement, and brazen young pages passed notes to the young actresses. One of these boys, a page of the Princess Palatine, bribed a tailor to insert a note in the sleeve of Mademoiselle de Glapion's costume, who was singing in the chorus of young Israelites. The candid maiden, who was later to become Superior of Saint-Cyr, promptly brought the note to the proper authorities. The princess was informed, and the page was soundly whipped. Whereupon that young gentleman, wounded in his affections and in his person and convinced that his messenger had betrayed him, lay in wait one night and murdered the tailor. He had to flee the country, and for several years led a dissolute life in various parts of Europe—but ended as a Cistercian monk, with Madame de Glapion's blessing. Even in our broad-minded days such events would cause a flutter in any young ladies' academy. Madame de Maintenon became alarmed. This worldliness must stop : it was entirely her fault, she insisted, and there must be a complete reform. There was a general confiscation of ribbons and gew-gaws : books and manuscripts were handed up ; entertainments were to be more simple in the future ; and *Athalie*, when finished two years later, was acted in a class-room, without costumes and in the presence of the school alone. In her new zeal the foundress reduced education to almost nothing. No books were now allowed save works of piety such as *La Vie dévote* of Saint Francis de Sales or *The Practice of Christian and Religious Perfection* of Father Alphonsus Rodriguez—that hardy Jesuit pioneer who has penetrated so often into country whither none of his brethren may follow. Madame de Maintenon's apologists lay the blame for this worldly period on Madame de Brinon's shoulders ; but she had been dismissed before the performances of *Esther*, whose success she would have so much enjoyed. Poor Madame de Brinon !

Changes were also made in the spiritual direction of the school about this time, for the foundress laid some of the blame on the worldly priests who had been appointed as confessors to the institute. She decided that they must be replaced by religious. Lavallée assures us, though without any reference in support of his statements, that " the Jesuits, when they heard of the proposed change, made every effort to obtain the direction of Saint-Cyr ; but Madame de Maintenon had a marked aversion for this restless, ambitious order."[1] She certainly disliked Père La Chaise, whose influence on the king's conscience rivalled her own and whose dislike of the *dévots* she could never forgive, for she herself was one of them. Later she weakened slightly in her dislike of the Jesuits; for when

[1] *Histoire de Saint-Cyr*, p. 193.

her own spiritual director, M. Gobelin, became too old, she offered the vacant situation to Bourdaloue. But that simple preacher replied that he would be able to see her only twice a year, and so he was not acceptable. Finally the Lazarist Priests of the Mission were chosen as the directors of Saint-Cyr. They were recommended above all by their simplicity—which, so artificial was the life of the court at Versailles, seemed almost rustic. The choice proved a happy one. For many long years these sons of Monsieur Vincent continued their holy and wise direction. They had at first resisted the appointment, but the king insisted; and finally the Superior of the Mission became the spiritual superior of Saint-Cyr under the Bishop of Chartres.

The drastic changes which the foundress had decreed in the education of her children were made in a moment of panic and could not endure. She had wished for humility, an immense reduction in the time given to reading and writing, a great increase in the amount of housework done by the children, above all and in all things simplicity. For a while her wishes were fulfilled only too well. The mistress of "the yellow class" said to her one day: "Make your mind easy, Madame: our children have lost even their common sense by now." This extreme situation was remedied, but there was no longer so much talk about the superiority of the education given in Saint-Cyr as compared with that given in convent-schools. "We wished to avoid the pettiness of convent life," the foundress once confessed, "and God has punished us by this arrogance." The arrogance, the grandiose plans, were gone; and the academic life of the school was to run on simpler lines until the Revolution. Music was kept up, and elocution and lessons in writing and French; but the spirit was different indeed. The clock had been put back from the days of Racine to those of Corneille. The great directive words had changed: *esprit* had led them astray: henceforth *honneur, raison, patriotisme, piété* were to guide these young souls. The monotony of school life was to be accepted by the *demoiselles* as a preparation for the monotony which awaited them in the forlorn provincial *châteaux* of father or husband, when they left Saint-Cyr at the age of twenty. And yet Saint-Cyr achieved great things. The Fronde and the part that noble ladies had played in it were in every-one's mind—especially the king's: that would not happen again. Madame Saint-René Taillandier, in a beautiful page of her biography of Madame de Maintenon,[1] describes how the Maison Royale helped to create that type of pious, hard-working, patriotic, high-minded royalist womanhood which the twentieth century calls the old-fashioned French type, but which in the days of Madame de Maintenon was so modern.

V

Even the cherished plans for a secular teaching community had finally to be abandoned by the foundress. After some years of experience the

[1] *Madame de Maintenon* (Hachette, 1923).

simple vows of which they had been so proud were changed to solemn vows, and the Dames de Saint-Louis were affiliated to the Canonesses of Saint Augustine. It was not without much regret that the king and Madame de Maintenon gave their consent to this change. The king, we are told, " liked the piety that is found in convents, but not their wimples and other weird accoutrements." After all he himself had helped to design the habit of the Dames de Saint-Louis and, when the change did come, he saved the habit. But the foundress was better able than the king to see the need for a revision of her own early plans. Under Madame de Brinon the training of the novices had been mainly oratorical. A change was urgently needed, and some fervent nuns from a convent of the Visitation were called in to help the foundress in the work of preparing the Dames for the monastic state they were to assume. Many of Madame de Maintenon's advisers had urged these changes : none more insistently than Godet des Marais, who had great influence with her and whom she had caused to be appointed Bishop of Chartres.

The new monastery was built in 1692 and endured as long as the monarchy itself ; but it did not survive the Revolution. Madame Daniélou very justly notes that the inspiration which founded the great teaching orders of the Church and which brought them through so many crises, was lacking at Saint-Cyr. Madame de Maintenon was a woman of genius, but she was not a saint. When she was gone, the eyes of the Dames de Saint-Louis were turned towards the past. Even in death she dominated everything : her smallest regulations were preserved unchanged : intelligent adaptation and initiative found no place in Saint-Cyr. Madame de Maintenon's educational system had been reduced to a stoicism that affected the spirit of her religious as well as the *demoiselles* of the school. When Louis XV visited the convent he found the Dames too reserved, a trifle haughty in their old-fashioned courtly manner ; and the merry monarch did not let it pass without remark.

And so, under the unchanging care of the Dames de Saint-Louis, generations of school-children succeeded one another at Saint-Cyr : wearing the old costumes, dancing the old dances, still singing the songs of Lulli whilst revolutionary airs were being whistled outside the convent's walls. Then one day—it was September 1st, 1792, a few days before the ill-omened massacres—a young girl named Elisa Buonaparte was called to the school-parlour. She was fifteen and a half years old and had been five years at Saint-Cyr. Her brother Napoleon had come to take her home. Six months later the king, Louis XVI, was dead and Saint-Cyr was closed.

JOHN LEONARD

IRISH MISSIONARIES IN LIBERIA

BY SENATOR HELENA CONCANNON, M.A., D.LITT.

WHILE the Republic of Liberia, now the only Negro Sovereign State in the world, was celebrating the centenary of its Declaration of Independence, there came to our shores a " Good Will Mission " from Nigeria and other African territories. The testimony of its members to the part played by Irish missionaries in forging bonds of friendship between their people and ours recalls the special *rôle* of our countrymen in the evangelisation of Liberia.

The ideas of human liberty broadcast by the American War of Independence, the French Revolution, the Anti-Slavery Movement associated with the name of Wilberforce in England, and the establishment by the English of a colony for liberated blacks—and deported Irish—in Sierra Leone, led to the formation, in 1817, of the American Colonisation Society with the object of founding in Africa a " National Home " for the ex-slaves, then presenting to U.S.A. the same sort of problem which now confronts Europe in her " Displaced Persons ". The principal promoter of the Society was Elias Caldwell, while President Monroe was a warm supporter, and its President, for a time, was Charles Carroll of Carrolltown. Between 1820 and 1823 this Society sent out various groups of colonists, who tried unsuccessfully, to make a foundation in Sierra Leone and the Island of Sherbro. It was not until 1822 that a " white " American, called Jehudi Ashman, succeeded in establishing them at Cape Mesurado, at the mouth of the St. Paul River. Protestant missionaries were put in charge of the colony, which got the name of Liberia in 1824; and the first town was called Monrovia after President Monroe. A little later (1831–33) the Catholics of Maryland founded at Cape Palmas, under Dr. Hall, a second colony, called Maryland, which remained distinct from Monrovia until 1856.

While the Protestant missionaries looked after Monrovia, there was no spiritual provision for the Catholic colonists of Maryland, and this state of affairs gave grave concern to the great Corkman Most Rev. Dr. England, then Bishop of Charlestown. To preserve the faith of the Catholics and to prevent west Africa becoming a " focus " of heresy, Bishop England petitioned Propaganda for missionaries for Liberia. There was no immediate result; but in 1833 the question was discussed at the Second Council of Baltimore, and the Bishops, there assembled, decided " that a mission should be established and the Holy See requested to entrust it to the Jesuits ". The Jesuits were, at the time, unable to undertake the Mission, and so nothing was done until 1841. In that year " Propaganda sent letters to the Right Rev. Francis Kenrick of Philadelphia, and the Right Rev. John Hughes of New York to procure, each, a clergyman to proceed to Liberia." But where were the two

priests to be found and money to finance their mission? Two heroic Irish priests volunteered : one of them, the Vicar-General of Philadelphia, Rev. Dr. Edward Barron, member of a prominent Waterford family and well known in Rome, where he had made his studies ; the other, Father John Kelly, a native of Trillick, Co. Tyrone, brother of the famous New York banker, Eugene Kelly, and uncle of the late Mr. Thomas Hughes Kelly, familiar to many of us through his frequent visits to the land of his fathers. They were joined by a pious young Irishman, Denis Pindar, a lay catechist of Baltimore. The mission was financed by Dr. Barron out of his own patrimony and from the proceeds of a collection in the dioceses of Philadelphia, New York City, Albany and Brooklyn. The three sailed from Baltimore on 21 December 1841 and reached Monrovia on the 26 January 1842.

After Father John Kelly's death—a victim of priestly devotion and charity during a cholera epidemic in Jersey City in 1866—there was found among his papers a small leather-bound note-book, on the fly-leaf of which is inscribed, in a strong hand, " Journal of J. Kelly, Cath. Miss. S.S. Peter and Paul, Cape Palmas, W. Africa 1842. Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam." This precious relic was, by the late Mr. Thomas Hughes Kelly, made available to the Catholic Historical Society of America and was published by them in their *Records and Studies* (May 1920). By its help we can follow, day by day, the labours and trials and sufferings of the three Irish missionaries during the first harrowing months.

On their arrival in Monrovia they found no Catholics there (though the name of an Italian Catholic, Captain Cannot, reached them afterwards). They therefore slept on board and did not say Mass. Father John's description of the Capital, twenty years after its foundation, does not indicate that it was very flourishing. It was a poorish village ; there was no school for the Pagan children, and what passed for a church was a mud-wall structure with a thatched roof—and it was closed. The colony, however, had no less than two papers : the *Liberia Herald* and the *African Luminary*.

Leaving Monrovia to the light of its " Press," the missionaries proceeded to Cape Palmas where Dr. Barron said his first Mass on African soil on the Feast of St. Brigid, 1842. The next morning, Candlemas Day, the two priests offered Mass in a private room in the house of the Lieutenant-Governor, George McGill. The formal opening of the Mission took place the following Sunday when they celebrated Mass in the stone school house. It was attended by Governor Rusmore of Maryland and Governor Roberts of Monrovia—afterwards first President of Liberia ; and in addition to about a dozen Catholics there were a number of Protestants and some native Pagans. There were twenty Catholics in the colony, and some of them, for want of priests, had been attending the Protestant services.

It is a sad story that Father John's *Diary* has to tell. One after another, the two priests and young Denis Pindar were laid low by the fevers indigeneous to the region, so rightly called the " White Man's Grave ". Father Kelly, who had some skill in medicine, tried to keep them on their feet through doses and treatment he carefully records. Ill as they were, they struggled on, trying to learn the difficult Grebo tongue with the help of an interpreter called Davis (who, afterwards, proved himself no friend) ; trying to instruct the Pagan natives in the truths of the Faith through the medium of pictures ; trying to propitiate the venal native chiefs with liberal presents and frequent conferences (" Dashes " and " palavers ") ; trying to get a church and school and mission house built with the aid of natives and colonists, who cheated them shamefully both in workmanship and in the quantity and quality of materials ; trying to animate the piety and revive the faith of the few Catholics with " Retreats " etc. At length, with their monetary resources almost exhausted and with the realisation that no further progress was possible without further help in men and money, it was decided that Dr. Barron should return to America and Europe in search of both, while Father John and Denis Pindar " held the fort " at Cape Palmas—where, weak as they were with malaria, they started the building of the mission structures.

The *Diary* records the departure of Dr. Barron for the U.S. on 8 April 1842, " weak in health but strong in zeal for the Glory of God and this mission. His intention was to procure religious men and priests in the U.S. and quasi-monks in Ireland, to aid in the native school and to teach and instruct in the mechanical arts." The " quasi-monks " appear to be those voluntary communities of pious laymen, not uncommon at the time, who, while earning their livelihood through their trades or by working a small farm, devoted themselves to various good works and religious exercises. The bishops and priests of Ireland approved of them and found their help useful in the days when religious orders were not so plentiful in our land ; and from them developed, in some instances, early foundations of the Christian Brothers and the Patrician Brothers.

In America, Dr. Barron raised some little money ; in his native land he recruited four pious young men ; in Rome he was consecrated Bishop of Constantina and made Vicar Apostolic of " the two Guineas and Sierra Leone " ; and at Lyons, he received from the Association for the Propagation of the Faith some financial help. But it was at the feet of our Lady of Victories in her celebrated Paris shrine that his quest was most richly rewarded. Having disclosed to Père Desgenettes his need of missionaries for Liberia, he was told by the famous Curé of Notre Dame des Victoires that only the previous day Père Libermann, founder of the Congregation of Missionaries of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, had come to the Shrine to pray for a mission-field for his sons. A meeting

was arranged between Bishop and Founder, and, each finding in the other's need the complement of his own, an arrangement was soon reached.

Some years before, the Jewish convert Francis Mary Paul Libermann had met, at the Seminary of Issy, two young Creole seminarists, M. le Vavasseur from Bourbon and M. Tisserand from Hayti, both of whom were full of zeal for the spiritual welfare of the ex-slaves of their native islands. His own missionary ardour was kindled at their fire, and after many discussions the three decided that the best thing to do was to found a religious congregation expressly for the evangelisation of the Blacks. Thus came about, in 1841, the establishment of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary—which was merged with the Congregation of the Holy Ghost in 1848.

The first mission-field of the new Congregation was the West Indies ; and Père Tisserand, sailing for his native Hayti in 1843, found at first the prospects encouraging. But a change in the *personnel* of Government and an outbreak of savage bigotry forced him to abandon the mission and return to the Mother House of the Congregation at La Neuville.

It was about this time that Bishop Barron met Père Libermann ; and, as a result of their conference, seven missionaries of the Immaculate Heart of Mary sailed from Bordeaux on 13 September 1843. In the meantime, Bishop Barron had gone to collect his Irish recruits, and in good heart he set sail with them from Gravesend on 1st November.

As the colony of Sierra Leone was included in Monseigneur Barron's Vicariate Apostolic, he called there, and got a rapturous welcome from the Catholic Irish and the Governor, MacDonald, who suggested the establishment of a mission. A letter from the Bishop to Père Libermann, passing on this suggestion, mentions the sad plight of the abandoned Catholics and the disgust of the British authorities with the Methodist ministers and it pleads : " Let us not forget Grand Bassam and Assinie. If you still have martyrs to spare, send them on " ! Alas, the martyrdom of many of those he had expected to welcome him back to Cape Palmas was already consummated. A week or two after their arrival, Père Régnier, one of the seven Fathers of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, got a sun-stroke and died a few days after Christmas. Poor Denis Pindar, who had toiled and suffered with Father Kelly, was carried off by fever on New Year's day 1844, many of the others were at death's door. Nothing remained for the Bishop but to bring his flock to a healthier location. Leaving Father Kelly and Père Bessieux at Cape Palmas to await the coming of a promised French war-ship, he brought the others to Assinie. Letters from Dr. Barron to La Neuville record the deaths of Père Roussel at Cape Palmas, of Père Bouchet at Cape Lahou, of the young Irishman (another John Kelly) on board the Eglantine, of Père Audebert at Grand Bassam, of Père Laval at Assinie. The others returned to Europe, leaving only at Assinie Brother Grégoire, who was *in extremis*.

For some time, Father Kelly and Père Bessieux remained at Cape Palmas without any news of their comrades. A visiting warship gave Father John the chance of reaching Grand Bassam, and there, as at Assinie, he found only the graves of the valiant little company. His own health shattered, he returned to America, where as Pastor of St. Peter's, Jersey City, he did great work for the Church in that city. Bishop Barron offered his resignation to the Holy See and also returned to America. He died, while ministering to the victims of a yellow fever epidemic in Savannah, Georgia, in 1854.

In Africa there only remained Père Bessieux, forgotten at Cape Palmas, and Frère Grégoire at Assinie, who had recovered from his sickness and got a job with a trader at half a franc a month ! Both names were inscribed on the necrology at La Neuville and prayers were offered daily for their souls.

At long last a French warship arrived at Cape Palmas and, taking off Père Bessieux, proceeded to Assinie, where he expected to find his comrades. He found nobody but Frère Gregoire, who was taken on board and brought with Père Bessieux to Gaboon, where there was a French fort, Fort Joinville, and a trading station. Touching at the Ile du Prince, a Portuguese possession, they found there an old Portuguese priest, Padre José, and seized the opportunity of going to Confession to him. To celebrate the event, Padre José had the church bells rung, and when the entire population had assembled, he seated himself in an armchair in the sanctuary, made the missionaries kneel down, and then and there heard their confessions.

On the eve of St. Michael 1844, the *Zebra* arrived at Gaboon. The Commandant of the Fort gave Père Bessieux and his companion a warm welcome and, the Father having elected to stay in Africa, fixed up a sleeping place for him in a store and improvised a chapel in a wooden shed. An old gin box, lined with white calico, was the tabernacle, and a flat stone was the tabernacle door, while a herring barrel, covered with a cloth, provided a pedestal for a poor little statue of Our Blessed Lady. In this humble sanctuary Père Bessieux celebrated Mass on the Feast of the Warrior Archangel and, hardly realising it himself, inaugurated the splendid missions of the Fathers of the Holy Ghost in French Congo and the West African Coast. (Père Bessieux himself was made Vicar Apostolic of the Two Guineas in 1848.)

After the resignation of Monseigneur Barron, the Holy See formally entrusted the " Mission of the Two Guineas " to the Society of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, and M. Tisserand (whom we left at La Neuville after his return from Hayti) was appointed Prefect Apostolic. " But," writes Monseigneur Le Roy, that veteran of the Missions, in moving words " this Africa is a citadel and you will only take it by climbing to the assault on the bodies of your dead comrades." The new Prefect

Apostolic perished, with his companion missionaries, in a shipwreck off the coast of Mogador, and the Liberian Mission had to be, for a time, abandoned.

It was not until 1882 that the possibility of reviving the Mission was presented. In that year President Gardiner of Liberia, anxious for schools for his people, applied for missionaries to Propaganda, through the Liberian representative in Spain; and the Sacred Congregation assigned the work to the Holy Ghost Fathers, with whom Père Libermann's Society had been amalgamated since 1848. Two Fathers, Père Blanchet and Père Lorber, came from Freetown in February 1884, and were cordially received by the new President Johnston, the Mayor of Monrovia, and other notabilities. To the fury of the Protestant sects, the President attended Mass, and procured for the Missionaries a grant of 100 acres of land on the St. Paul River, where they hoped to start an agricultural colony and trade schools. A chapel was erected in Krowtown (a sort of "Cladach" village outside Monrovia, inhabited by the Kroos), and a school was opened. Great work was done by the Fathers and Brothers, and Father Stoll, in particular, is held in grateful remembrance by some of his surviving pupils. But once more the climate proved deadly to the missionaries, some of whom died, while others had to be withdrawn. A great loss was the death of Père Borzieux. He had set himself enthusiastically to the study of the language and had composed in it a Catechism and Canticles, while he published, in France, an interesting history of Liberia. For many years after the departure of the last survivors of the mission the handful of Catholics in Liberia were visited, at intervals, by Fathers of the Holy Ghost Congregation from Freetown.

In 1903 a third attempt was made to evangelise Liberia; and this time the Mission was entrusted to the Monfort Fathers. But before long, disease and death forced them, too, to abandon the battlefield.

It was as if Providence had, all the time, been reserving the conquest of Liberia for the sons of St. Patrick. And here enters on the scene a great Irish missionary who, when he died in January 1947, was mourned by his brethren as the " Grand Old Man of the African Missions," Father Stephen Kyne, S.M.A.

From his native Mayo, as a youth of eighteen, young Stephen Kyne (having passed through the classical school of the Fathers of the African Missions in Blackrock, Cork), came to the Seminary of the Society in Lyons in 1890. After his ordination in Cairo in 1897, he spent many years in Egypt, both in the schools, as Superior of the Mission at Ziftel, and adviser to the Prefect Apostolic of Egypt. A native speaker of Irish, he had a great gift for languages. Not only was he proficient in French and Italian, but had an unusual mastery of Arabic and was regarded as an authority on Egyptian dialects.

In 1906 Propaganda invited the African Missions Society to take

charge of Liberia, and Father Stephen Kyne was made Prefect Apostolic. When he arrived with two companions in Monrovia in October of that year, he found only about six Catholics. President Arthur Barclay, keenly interested in the mission, advised the Fathers to approach the native Chief of Kekru, who had professed himself anxious for schools, and he procured for them a grant of land in that territory. The hope of establishing a school " up country " proved, for the moment, fallacious, but a coffee plantation was started, with the aim of supporting the mission and educating the native boys at work on it. Alas, once more the deadly climate took its toll. Two of the Fathers had to be invalided home, and it was not until 1908 that the arrival of Father Joe Butler and others from Nigeria made much progress possible. A house was rented in Monrovia and a school was started, the number of pupils soon reaching the encouraging number of forty. In spite of some setbacks and disappointments, the prospects for the progress and stability of the mission were most encouraging when Father Kyne was recalled to Ireland.

But he had been called home to become first Provincial of the newly created Irish Province of the S.M.A., and his joy was overwhelming when he found that the first mission-field assigned to the young Province was Liberia. In 1913 the first Ordinations of the Irish Province of the S.M.A. took place in Cork ; and in October, four of the newly ordained sailed for Liberia.

Among the four was a young Corkman, Father John Collins, who twenty-one years later (1934) was to be consecrated, in his native city on the banks of the Lee, first Bishop of Liberia. A hundred years earlier a great Corkman, Bishop John England of Charlestown, had sent out his call to Propaganda imploring help for the abandoned Catholics of Monrovia and Maryland ; and now, the century complete, another Corkman and another John, Bishop John Collins, after labouring among them for a generation, comes back to them as their own first Bishop. Unfortunately, the published records of these vital years in Liberia come from the pen of Bishop Collins himself, and so we hear next to nothing of his own part in the heroic saga. Only in sudden involuntary flashes is revealed something of the labours and sacrifices of that most arduous of mission fields, where the priests " must be Jack-of-all-trades, where the materials for church-building must be carried on the heads of the natives," and where the graves of the fallen Soldiers of Christ multiply around the little zinc-roofed edifice that serves for his Cathedral in Monrovia.

Rather does the Bishop dwell on its joys ; and of these the greatest was granted to him when, on 29 December 1946, he laid consecrating hands on the dark head of a young Liberian and, in the person of Father Patrick Juwle, gave to Liberia its first native priest. Let one who was present help us, through words that weave themselves into a canticle of praise and thanksgiving, to share in the exultant happiness of that day :

" This Ordination brings back a surge of memories—memories of the early days, when men were few and difficulties many. Memories, too, of the men who gave their lives. They lie in little graves : Father William Shine, S.M.A., Father Denis O'Hara, S.M.A., Father Francis J. MacGovern, S.M.A., Father Matthew MacDonnell, S.M.A., Father Martin Tracey, S.M.A.

" But for his Lordship, there was the memory of a little boy baptised some thirty years ago by a young missionary fresh from home. That little boy kneels today at God's altar, the folded chasuble on his shoulder. The young missionary is now the mitred Pontiff who stretches forth his hand in Ordination."[1]

And while we watch Bishop Collins kneel for the blessing of his first Liberian priest, like another Patrick at the feet of his first-born in Christ, St. Benen, let us rejoice that there also approached that morning for the blessing of the young Levite, a band of white clad Sisters, the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary,[2] to recall the devoted women who laboured with our own Apostle " to win Virgin Eire for Christ ".

HELENA CONCANNON

[1] *The African Missionary.* (Articles by Bishop John Collins, Sept.-Oct. 1938, and by Rev. Michael J. Rooney, May-June 1947 : *Obituary* of V. Rev. Father Stephen Kyne, S.M.A. Same number).

[2] They had come from Loughglynn, Co. Roscommon, in 1937.

SOME PICTURESQUE PHILOSOPHERS

BY ARTHUR LITTLE, S.J.

PART II.—ELEATICS AND ATOMISTS

THE year 545 B.C. may be regarded as the pivot on which Greek philosophy suddenly swung from a crude empiricism to a resolute rationalism. In that year Thales may have been alive though near his death, Heracleitus may have been born, while the other Ionics with Pythagoras and Xenophanes were in vigorous life. And Xenophanes was the herald of the Eleatics.

The opportunity of this rapid development in thought was presented by the cultural unity and political disunity of the Greek cities. Hellas had not yet been alarmed into a general alliance by the Persian menace to the whole Greek race. There was plenty of unrest, but because of the political separation of the states it was local and intermittent. The tyrants that had seized power in many states were detested as a rule, not because they neglected the public welfare but because they sought to enforce the public welfare with the big stick. It was therefore always possible for poets and philosophers to find quiet places in which to pursue their callings—if only they were able and willing to take long walks. And if they could interest tyrants in the fruits of their thought and imagination, they could enjoy with their patrons not only quiet but also such comfort as philosophers call luxury.

XENOPHANES

Now of this company Xenophanes deserves mention not only for seducing Parmenides from Pythagoreanism but for his own sake. He was an older contemporary of Pythagoras and outlived him. Born in Colophon just north of Miletus, he emigrated in disgust to Sicily under the conviction, soon to be proved prophetic, that the frivolity of the Ionians was rendering them unfit to defend Hellas against the Persians. In Sicily he lived as a professional poet and as a kind of puritan reformer who stormed less against the sins of men than against the vices of the gods. For he had the insight to recognise that men could not be expected to be better than the gods whom they worshipped. His remedy for the evil was the Pythagorean doctrine of the unity of God. But he diverged from Pythagoras in adopting a resolute and explicit pantheism according to which God became the substratum or prime matter of the world and the principle of its unity. Actually, at a time when no one understood the nature of efficient causality, he was more logical than Pythagoras. The world had to be made out of some stuff or being that preceded it, he argued ; and since only God preceded it, therefore it was made of God. He also argued that the world could change. Sicilian fossil

shells on land show that land is emerging from water. Yet land is first because it is also under the water. The world therefore is land turning to water and back to land, and in the process all things are made and pass.

Towards the end of Xenophanes's life his patron, Hiero of Syracuse, was deposed and murdered by his brother, and Xenophanes fled to Elea. There he certainly influenced Parmenides, most probably by personal intercourse ; for Parmenides's zeal in defence of his own terrifying doctrine is puzzling in any case. But one can sympathise with it in some degree, if he had been persuaded of the expediency of his doctrine by the arguments of Xenophanes and stirred to enthusiasm by the heroic figure of that battered old soldier of the spirit.

Parmenides

Parmenides himself was born at Elea in 515 of a rich and powerful family. Like Protagoras at Thurii and several other Greek philosophers he was invited to pass laws for his native city. It is not unlikely that the respect for human dignity that has ever distinguished European civil law derives, with its corollaries of justice and universal rights, solely from the influence of the Greek upon the Roman legislators ; for such respect was the main characteristic of Greek humanism through its philosophers. Nevertheless Elea must have had laws before Parmenides's birth, so that his mission can only have been to revise the code and add to it. The only other event of Parmenides's life that we know for certain is that he took a kind of philosophical travelling circus on tour around the Greek cities. At least he took Zeno with him in 450 B.C. to Athens, and Zeno was a whole circus in himself Zeno was one of the greatest of all dialecticians and unlike Parmenides, who never wanted victory at the expense of truth, he was a killer. He defended Parmenides's doctrine of the untrustworthiness of the senses by exposing the absurdity of their testimony in certain instances—for example, the impossibility of crossing a street or of hearing a sound, no matter how loud. *Solvitur ambulando* was rightly considered by the Greeks to be no answer to such difficulties ; for an answer should be an indication of the error, not merely the recognition that there *is* an error. Even today many consider the Eleatic problems insoluble. So Zeno and Parmenides, for day after day in the Athenian *agora* or in some wealthy house or even before Pericles himself, challenged the brightest wits of Athens to bouts of dialectics and seem to have survived unconquered. The most persistent adversary of all was a young man named Socrates. Zeno, it is said, was killed many years later while leading resistance to a would-be tyrant attempting a *coup d'état* at Elea.

But Parmenides was picturesque neither in his character, which was upright and generous but so far as we know not of any distinguished eccentricity, nor in his habits and thoughts ; but he was very astonishing in the contrast between his thoughts and his character. That one so shrewd

and wise should devote his whole life to the propagation of a gospel of futility is not quite explained by Xenophanes's enthusiasm for a milder doctrine. Parmenides wrote his philosophy in an hexameter poem of which most is extant. Critics are in wide disagreement on the poem's merits as poetry, some denying that it is poetry at all, others claiming it as one of the world's greatest odes. When we consider the creative originality of the opening and the passionate fervour of the whole we cannot, I think, easily scorn it.

Now the predecessors of Parmenides were merely the worms that turned the sod for his growth, the precursors of philosophy. He himself was the first philosopher worthy of the name and, despite the brevity of his work, one of the greatest in history. That is true for two reasons: firstly, he discovered the science of metaphysics by discerning its object, the concept of being; secondly, he founded thereon a solution to the problem of the One and the Many that was appalling, incredible, yet apparently irrefutable, and so stung the Greek reason into taking the field against him.

The concept of being which he discovered was his explanation (and the right explanation) of the ultimate intrinsic element that enables many and various things to be similar and one. Nothing can escape kinship with other things in so far as it has being, that is, positive reality either possible or actual. Parmenides stated as a first principle that what the mind understood was discovered by the mind and therefore pre-existed outside of the mind before its discovery. It was a positive object therefore not brought into existence by knowledge but known because it was already in existence. Being meant for him what existed or could exist outside of the mind or in reality. It has been denied that Parmenides discovered the concept of being because he was a materialist. This is a very bad argument. It may be that Parmenides was a materialist in the sense that he had no notion of spiritual being. But it does not follow that his concept of being must have included the notes of matter and thus in reality have been a concept of material being. He could have abstracted the idea of pure being from material being, even if he had believed that all being was in fact material. He could have conceived an object as existing merely without adverting to it as also existing in quantity. That he did conceive of being as abstracted from matter (or in the third degree of abstraction, to speak technically) is shown by the fact that he described being as opposed or contradictory merely to non-existence, not to even the most general idea of immateriality. Thus, though he may have believed nothing to exist but matter, he had found a way of thinking of matter (merely as what is outside of the mind) that would also fit God, when philosophers would have ascended to the knowledge of spiritual truth. The wiser part of the whole world that succeeded Parmenides was taught by him.

But Parmenides attempted infanticide; no sooner had he brought

forth his new science than he set out to strangle it. His second achievement (if we may so call a fallacy that almost succeeded) was to forge an argument showing that there was nothing to be known about being except that it exists. There are no differences or variation in being. For being cannot differ from being by being *being*. If I have two beings one must differ from the other by something that the other lacks, at least by being this and not that. But if all that I can say of each of them is that it is *being* clearly I am making, and can make, no difference between them in my thought. And, since thought corresponds with reality, clearly there can *be* no difference between them. But in fact, proceeded Parmenides, all that I *can* say of each of them is that it is being ; for, since non-being cannot be, there can be nothing but being by which they can differ and, as he has shown, they cannot differ by being. It is idle to assert that they can differ by different *kinds* of being or by number ; for these are differences and Parmenides has denied the possibility of differences and has put forth an argument in proof of his contention. Nor can we argue that we *see* differences in things, for Parmenides insists that he has proved by reason the contrary, and thus has implicitly proved the illusoriness of the senses.

But if there can only be being without difference of kind or number, there can be no change. If anything comes into being, then its non-being was a reality before its arrival. If anything perishes, then its non-being is a reality after its destruction. But non-being cannot be a reality. There is only one eternal, immutable, homogeneous thing in existence. And after all Parmenides probably did *not* consider it as determinedly material. His statement that being is spherical must be regarded as meaning metaphorically that being is the same everywhere, for his faithful disciple, Zeno, denied the possibility of extension.

The reader, if he has persevered through these last two pages, may now be irresistibly tempted to abuse me. I started with exemplary cheerfulness, yet seriousness has kept breaking in. Why, the reader (no longer gentle) may complain, should he be asked to wrestle with the sense of such difficult abstract reasoning in order to understand what is manifestly a fallacy, an argument that change and number are impossible ? Actually he would flatter himself in thus stating his case. For if he reads carefully and tries to understand, he will find that understanding is not very difficult. His reluctance to take that trouble is a reluctance to read what is neither entertaining to the imagination nor capable of rewarding the mind with knowledge of any new truth. His real question is : What is the use of discovering the precise error in an argument which, from other sources of knowledge, he already knows to be in some way erroneous ? Why seek any other weapon against the *argumentum contra factum* except the fact that is against it ? Why study false philosophy, if one has the true philosophy ? The answer that others have found in the past to such questions will serve us too for an answer as well as being a parable.

The Greeks could see as clearly as we that Parmenides's argument was a fallacy. But it was just because they knew that it was a fallacy that they realised the urgency of exact diagnosis of its weakness. For they set paramount value on the human reason. They knew that no choice was wise or even sane that was not taken in view of the ultimate truths of the human situation. Just as a man who wants to reach the sea needs to know in what direction it is in order to take the right train, so they needed to know the real possibilities of their ultimate destiny in order to take the right action. And to know their destiny they needed to know what they were and of what origin. But these ultimate facts controlling the human situation were only accessible by the skilled use of reason. Perhaps they were material, perhaps higher than matter; but even to know that there *was* no truth beyond matter required reason. Hence they recognised that the entire trustworthiness of reason was their only hope of ensuring to themselves security in action. If reason turned out to be essentially unsound, incapable of detecting its own errors, man was disastrously fated to play the fool.

But Parmenides's argument, while concluding to a manifest falsehood, seemed to comply with all the conditions required by the reason for arriving at truth. That argument, so long as its violation of the laws of reason remained undisclosed, was a standing witness, apparently unimpeachable, against the truth of reason. Nowadays most people do not worry about the truth of reason because they have lost interest in their ultimate destiny. But the Greeks, though they loved Parmenides, hated his argument as they hated the Persians or any other national enemy. It is true that, just as in a war it is often not necessary for every citizen to bear arms, so it was not necessary for every citizen now to detect for himself where Parmenides was wrong. It was sufficient if even one of their philosophers could convincingly refute him. But unless some philosopher could hold out at least a hope of a solution the Greeks felt that their efforts might soon falter and their civilisation fall.

The Atomists: Empedocles and Anaxagoras

The first attempt to refute Parmenides, that of the Atomists, was futile. Empedocles and Anaxagoras were the precursors of this school. Empedocles, democratic politician, poet, physician, and founder of a medical school, proved too difficult to assimilate for his fellow-citizens of Acragas, who exiled him. Etna, says the legend, was more successful. According to the story he tried for fame by plunging to his death into the seething crater, and would not have been missed had not the dyspeptic volcano vomited forth one of his golden slippers in the effort to digest him. But against this story is the fact that he had fled to Thurii on the Italian mainland (where he must have met Protagoras and Herodotus) and it is unlikely that he ever returned to Sicily. The statement that he

died unremarkably in the Peloponnesus must regretfully be accepted. Like all his school he conceived the first origin of things as a plurality: the four elements, earth, air, fire, and water. This doctrine of the four elements was his most successful falsehood, bequeathed for more than a thousand years until it reached the alchemists. He explained the formation of different species of things by the love of the fragments of each element for each other drawing them together or by their hatred of the other elements urging them to flight. Most classical critics consider him to have been a greater poet than Parmenides, but one must admit that a poet who is writing of the loves of the atoms has a better chance than one who is singing of the passions of *ens*.

But Empedocles's poem influenced a greater philosopher than he. Anaxagoras is a figure of grave dignity whose life was one of the most melodramatic ever lived by philosophers. A rich land-owner of Clazomenae in Asia Minor, he had neglected his acres to study mathematics and physical science under the Ionic masters. He came to Athens in 480 for a reason that has been brilliantly and acceptably conjectured. Clazomenae had been seized by the Persians in 495 on the suppression of the Ionic Revolt, spirited but too late to be effective, against Persian imperialism. Anaxagoras, now nominally a Persian subject, is supposed to have deserted from the Persian army attacking Greece in 480 and to have fled to Athens. There he became one of young Pericles's tutors. Damon was his music-master, Zeno the Eleatic gave him some lessons in dialectics, but Anaxagoras was his private philosopher. Thirty years later this friendship with Pericles was to make him the central figure in a thriller. Thucydides—not the historian but the nephew of the great aristocratic leader, Cimon, in whose exile Pericles had been instrumental—was then leader of the aristocratic party. The artistocrats aimed at an oligarchy and, to serve their ambitions (like the arms manufacturers, the putative war-mongers of a later day), were urging continuation of the war with Persia. They were also powerful. Thucydides had assassinated Ephialtes, Pericles's companion in power, in 456 in revenge for his uncle's banishment. Pericles, though maintaining his position as head of the state and of the democratic party, did not dare to punish Thucydides. But he did oppose his political designs. Realising the decline of Persian power and the folly of unnecessary war, the Periclean party upheld a policy of peace with Persia. Thucydides on his part did not dare to attack directly a leader and patriot so dear as Pericles to the citizens of Athens.

Instead he attacked him indirectly. He accused Anaxagoras of traitorous sympathy with the Persians, because he was a Persian subject, and of irreligion, because during an eclipse of the sun he ridiculed some religious ceremonies of propitiation on the ground that the sun was only a red-hot stone and the moon a clay ball. Whether it is more correct

to call the sun a red-hot stone than to call it a god is even now an unsolved problem. Nevertheless the case against Anaxagoras, tried perhaps before a suborned court, was strong enough to get him condemned. But Pericles helped him to escape from prison and smuggled him across the sea to Lampsacus back in Asia Minor. Here he founded a school of philosophy, met Democritus, lived in honour for twenty years, and died when nearly eighty.

Anaxagoras in his philosophy postulated an original mass of matter containing elements, completely formed, of all possible species of things. He relied on the robust argument that out of bone one can only get bone to prove the impossibility of new species coming into existence. But the doctrine of Anaxagoras that has most made him famous is the contention that the ruler of all things is Mind. The function of Mind was to move and organise the original mass of specific elements into ordered bodies such as we know. Obviously such a power was needed and its nature was proved to be that of mind by analogy with the human mind which coordinates the parts of the human body and directs them all to fulfil the mind's own purpose. Mind was infinite, unmixed with the other elements, and immune from interference by anything else. Scholastics have always tried to see in this concept an accurate concept of God. But in fact there is no evidence that Anaxagoras conceived Mind as non-quantitative or independent of material things for its action. The Mind of Anaxagoras is simply the soul of the universe. To have discovered the doctrine of the transcendence of God would have been an almost incredible feat of independence of his contemporaries. Moreover Anaxagoras made no real attempt to solve the problem of the One and the Many. Socrates is made to say in the *Phaedo* that, having read with joy the doctrine of Mind, he was disappointed to find that Anaxagoras put it to little use. In fact Anaxagoras did put it to great use. What Socrates must have meant is that Anaxagoras did not use it as he might to solve the problem of the One and the Many.

Democritus

But orthodox Atomism commenced with Democritus, who had an influence on later history out of proportion to the value of his philosophy. He and Protagoras were fellow-townsmen of Abdera in Thrace, and he knew Aristotle of the neighbouring township of Stagyra, who declared that Democritus was "interested in everything". But Democritus's chief inspiration came from his friends, Anaxagoras and Leucippus of Miletus, precursors of Atomism whom he met on his travels. Democritus probably learned of Parmenides from Leucippus who, after being expelled from Miletus by a revolution, met him in Elea. Democritus himself founded a school in Abdera where he died, after living for nearly a century, in 370. He was called The Laughing Philosopher for a reason that is still a matter for conjecture.

He claimed to have an answer to the dilemma of Parmenides. An extended thing is not infinitely divisible, he asserted ; else its ultimate parts, being unextended, would be nothing and the whole thing could be reduced to nothing merely by persevering division. Hence it was composed of atoms or extended ultimate parts that could not be further divided. The unity of the world was explained by the homogeneity of all these atoms. Its differences were explained by explaining varieties of kind or species in terms of number, shape, and movement of these homogeneous atoms. Incidentally he was led to foresee the sciences of rational psychology and epistemology by instituting the first Critique of Sensation. Extension and all quantitative accidents were real in his view, but not such qualities as colour, sound, or heat. The anticipation of Locke is evident.

But he overlooked the fact that number, shape, and movement were themselves differences that needed explanation. He had begged the question. A metaphysical argument cannot be conducted on the level of mathematics. Yet this materialist school influenced to a decisive extent Epicurus and Lucretius, and to some extent the Stoics and indeed every subsequent form of mechanistic materialism.

And now it will be convenient to finish this instalment of the story of philosophy at the point where Parmenides, having blown his fanfare and declared his challenge to the trustworthiness of the senses, met his first opposition. We shall see many appear upon the battlements, pick up his gage, and enter the lists against him. They may be overcome only with difficulty ; they may even leave the battle undecided. But at last a mighty Dominican friar, stumbling upon his problem with many others, will solve them offhand, unwitting that he has overthrown the great Parmenides.

ARTHUR LITTLE

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MAC KENNA, S.J.

LXXXIV

An elegy on Gormlaidh, a child who died when only five years old and was buried in Doire (stt. 9, 19). She was daughter of Lasairfhíona (and Domhnall Ó Domhnaill), who was daughter of Mór "Mhumhan" (and Cathal Croibhdhearg Ó Conchobhair), who was daughter of Aráille (and Domhnall Mór Ó Briain), who was daughter of Diarmuid Mac Murchadha (stt. 6–10). In st. 13 Gormlaidh's death is compared to the premature death by drowning of a son of Niall Glundubh and his wife, another Gormlaidh. The lady whose grief is described in stt. 15 sq. may have been Gormlaidh's fostermother or mother (*buime* being used in either sense). From st. 3 one might conclude that her fostermother was wife of Domhnall Ó Néill, †1325.

GIOLLA BRIGHDE CC

1. Teasda eochair ghlais Ghaoidheal
fa Éirinn do héagcaoineadh
budh anbhfann dóibh greim an ghlais
is a seim óir 'n-a h-éagmhais.

2. Teasda eochair a hiadhta
síoth Éirionn badh aimhriadhta
ó dhul as nochan fhuair síoth
a glas do-chuaidh don choigcríoch.

3. Do b'athair dhí an Domhnall thiar
tug a n-aigneadh ar éinrian
do b'oide dhí an Domhnall thoir
fa hí conghlann a gceangail.

4. Dá mbeidis ar tí a dtachair
a hoide 's a hardathair
aghaidh na naoidhean do-níodh
sgaoileadh d'fhalaidh na n-airdríogh.

5. Fríoth lé buar is brat naoidhe
fríoth sochar is somhaoine
a cumha i gceann a solaidh
earr [ula ar na husgaraibh].

6. Mar táid fa a cumhaidh ag ceas
na trí fréamha ó a bhfuil a cairdeas
gach adhbhar ríoghna nó ríogh
go n-íorna adhbhal d'imshníomh.

7. (A-tá) cuidigh dá cumhaidh
ar clannmhaicne Chonchubhair,
ar aicme Bhriain biaidh a cumha
's biaidh ar mhaicne Mhurchudha.

8. Déanad combáidh fa a cumhaidh
clann Bhriain is clann Chonchubhair
bláth Gormlaith ag gach Gaoidheal
comhdhaith cách gá comhchaoineadh.

9. Ubhall abhla Cruachan Cuinn
fa úir dheirg Dhoire Coluim
aoidhe caomh a gcriaidh Doire
caor chraoibhe Briain Bhóroimhe.

10. As a croidhe nochar chuir
osnadh inghine Cathail
ní gan dula do dhuine
ní bhí acht cumha cholluidhe.

11. Réise gen go raibh ar súil
do ba gráinne ghuirt deargthúir
tig síol as táire [agus tig]
gráinne ríogh is an reilig.

12. Goirid beag do bhí a gcoloinn
macaomh chloinne caomhChonaill
do sheal chéilidhe ar gcridhe
feadh éindighe as áidhbhsighe.

13. Do báitheadh is an mBanbha
aonmhacaomh a hionshamhla
fa béin úraidh slat mar soin
mac Néill Ghlúnduibh re Gormlaidh.

14. Éagcoir Í Mhurchaidh Mhoirne
fat mhacaomh [a] mhórchoimdhe
teagaimh nach é ar a mbiadh bail
an té budh mian do mharthain.

15. Treas dá buime ag déanamh dhéar
treas ag innisin uirsgéal
gá meabhair bu doilghe dhí
coimhne mheadhair gá muime.

16. Deilioghadh re a dreich mballaigh
díoghlaidh ar a dearnannuibh ;
Gormlaidh do bhreith ó a buime
[odhraidh] dhreich a dearnuinne.

17. Ní thabhair abhann dá haoidh
ní cheis ar chomhrádh macaoimh
tarla a-muigh uirre omhan
a buime ó 'd-chluin chriothnoghadh.

18. Baladh na n-ubhall n-abuidh
ar an uichtghil n-abhradhduibh
fríoth fios balaidh an bhragha
ar slios ghalair Ghormladha.

19. Ag éag dot aghaidh niamhdha
nír shlán acht cóig cheirtbhliadhna ;
a ríoghan óg Mhuaidhe as moch
fód na huaighe gut fholach.

20. Ua Conchobhair a Cruachain,
is ua Móire a Miodhluachair,
ua Móire a Mumhain ní mhair
pudhair badh fhóille a heasbhaidh.

21. Ua Cathail Chroibhdheirg chroibh dhuinn
inghean Domhnuill Uí Dhomhnuill
fada leam an tí teasda
is í a gceann a céidteasda.

Teasda

Translation

1. Lost is the key to the lock of the Gaoidhil—its loss has caused lamentation throughout Éire ; the Gaoidhil will find the hold of the lock weak now that Éire's gold fastening is gone from her.
2. Lost is the key which preserved peace in Éire ; Éire will now be in turmoil ; she has had no peace since her lock is gone ; it has departed to another land.
3. Her (Gormlaidh's) father was the Western Domhnall, her fosterer the Eastern Domhnall ; she united their hearts and was a hand to bring them together.
4. If ever her father and her fosterer were about to quarrel, a look from the child would dispel those great chieftains' wrath.
5. With her came kine, new cloaks, comfort, riches ; tears for her at the end of her happy days was the end, a tomb (?) covering things of beauty (?).
6. The three stocks of her genealogy are weeping over her, and so every child-queen and every child-king bears a dread chain of anxiety (lest her fate be theirs).
7. Part of the grief for her is borne by Conchobhair's race, grief for her will also weigh on Brian's race and on Murchadh's.
8. United in grief for her, let them love each other, the races of Brian and Conchobhar ; Gormlaidh's beauty belongs to every Gaoidheal ; they vie in lamenting her.

9. An apple of the tree of Conn's Cruacha is beneath the upturned clay of Colum's Doire ; a berry from the Branch of Brian Bóroimhe now dwells, a gracious visitor, in the earth of Doire.
10. Cathal's daughter has not yet ceased moaning in heart ; all feelings die away in one except alone the sorrow that pierces one.
11. She (Gormlaidh) has become a handful of a ploughed field's earth—we dreamed not that this would be ; but to the churchyard alike go basest seed and seed of kings !
12. Short was the spell she spent in the flesh, this child of fair Conall's race, but that short visit of thine to our hearts lasted as an exquisite uninterrupted draught (of pleasure).
13. Once before a child like her was drowned in Banbha ; 'twas a draining of life-sap (the loss of) a child like him, son of Niall Glúndubh and Gormlaidh.
14. O mighty Lord (Domhnall), in thy girl an injustice was inflicted on a scion of Murchadh of Moirn ; it has come about that the person for whose life folk were praying is not the person chosen to be favoured.
15. At times her foster-mother wept (over her on the sick bed), at times told stories ; in her mother's heart afterwards the story-telling was a bitterer memory than the weeping.
16. Her parting from her child's flushed face her mother avenged on the palms of her hands (by beating them together) ; the colour of her palms was changed at Gormlaidh's separation from her.
17. When her mother heard the child's shivering, she became panic-stricken, she paid no heed to the (noise of the) river and complained not of the chatter of the (other) child.
18. A perfume as of ripe apples was exhaled by the white-breasted dark-browed child ; now one perceives the smell of the earth over Gormlaidh's diseased body !
19. At thy death just five years had been spent by thee, O lovely face ; O young Queen of the Muaidh, too soon has the grave-sod covered thee.
20. Descended from Conchobhar of Cruacha and from Mór of Miodhluachair, this scion of Mór of Mumha is dead—a disaster whose incompleteness is negligible.
21. Descendant from Cathal Red-fist of the bright hand, daughter of Domhnall Ó Domhnaill, I grieve for her who has gone from us having just begun to show us what she would be like.

NOTES

Text follows the only existing MS, A iv 3, p. 861 except for ordinary contractions and the following : 2*a*. hiata *b*. -iata 3*d*. cea. 4*a*. tach. 5*c*. -aimh *d*. umha ar na heasgadh- 6*a*. comh. *b*. -dis *c*. na *d*. gan io. 7*a*. *blot* ; comh. *c*. co. 8*a*. co. 9*c*. dhoi. 11*c*. is ni thig 12*d*. aibh. 14*a*. Moi. *b*. fa ; an 15*a*. der *c*. bhu *d*. mea. 16*d*. bodh. 18*b*. -aduibh. *d*. gor 19*b*. cei. 20*d*. as easb- 21*a*. croibh *c*. *cf*. *BST* 238 I

MISSIONARY SISTERS OF ST. COLUMBAN

BY MARGARET L. FAIRBAIRN, M.A.

"HAVE you ever heard of the Sisters of St. Columban of the Chinese Mission—Ireland's first Congregation of Missionary Sisters?"

It is neither surprising nor wrong that a Scottish convert to the Church, whose knowledge of Her history has come chiefly from reading, should turn eastwards to the mainland of Europe as the source of Catholic tradition and the cradle of the great Religious Orders and Congregations; for such Europe certainly is. I had expected, on my first acquaintance with Éire in the spring of 1943, to find here flourishing fully all the older, more famous Congregations whom, either from study or from contact, I already knew, and these I did find; but I was quite taken aback by this question which was thrown at me by a friend in Dublin. The only answer possible was, "No—never!" with the humble admission following: "I did not know there were any Irish Missionary Sisters."

"Any? There are several Congregations. But these are the pioneers. You should get to know them. And if you do"—here followed, with Irish kindness, an excuse for my ignorance—"you will know what a great many Irish people themselves do not know."

I

So it came about that, early in June of that year, I left Dublin for Ennis in Co. Clare, and in the evening travelled south by car along the western shore of the Fergus until we struck still farther towards the Atlantic on the northern bank of the wide Shannon estuary. It is a quiet loop-road by the coast that touches only the village of Kildysart, some fourteen miles from Ennis, before it reaches the Chinese Mission Convent of Cahiracon, Mother-House and Novitiate of the Sisters of St. Columban, the first Irish Congregation of Missionary Nuns. Here I stayed for some months of the summer of 1943; and here again I have come back, four years later, to visit them once more in what one of their friends has recently called their "power-house by the Shannon".

Cahiracon is a very beautiful place. Encircling woodlands—great gnarled oaks overgrown with ivy spreading out their branches over tangled brushwood, bramble and fern—surround a broad hollow rather like a saucer cleft in half, the lowest, flat edge bordering the river-estuary and facing towards the south. Lawns and shrubberies fill this lowest part of the hollow, and the gracious old white convent-house looks out from among them across a brief space of grass on to the tidal waters of the lovely Shannon and the shores of Limerick and Kerry. To the east, the land rises. Through a gate in a thick clipped hedge, across a wooden bridge over a little rocky stream (to a Scot it is, whatever the Sisters

call it, a veritable "burn"), by a tunnel of sub-tropical bamboos and a eucalyptus tree, one mounts past a group of firs and an apple-orchard to a sizeable cottage, once the game-keeper's, now the guest-house of the convent where relatives and friends are occasionally accommodated. Its chambers are painted in green and white, its windows low and broad-silled. From the front one sees flower-beds, grass, and a "saucerful" of tree-tops; and from the rear, past the poultry-house, spread hay-fields and the great triangular expanse of waters where Shannon and Fergus meet towards Limerick. To the west the woods run towering along to the cliffs opposite Foynes Island, where the coast-line becomes bare and rocky towards Labasheeda and Kilrush and the wilder Atlantic shore. All this beauty, natural and man-made, is the setting for the white convent-house facing the lawn and the shore, where the guardian statue of St. Columban stands to give his pastoral protection to the young Congregation which has sprung up to replace the ancient Celtic Sisterhood he consecrated thirteen hundred years ago.

The great house itself is Georgian, three-storeyed in the central part where a Grecian-pillared porch leads into a hall and main corridor in which the plastered groining of the roof and the metal-work of the hanging lamps and of the gracious, delicate, glassed fan-lights remind the visitor of the beautiful Goethe-Haus in Frankfurt. East and west wings, two-storeyed, have each a splendid bay-window looking to the river. The western contains what was once the great drawing-room of the mansion. Its walls are still panelled with green brocaded silk—mellowed, but not sicklied, by years of sun and shade; and its plaster-work, tiny flower-wreaths and charming cornices in the Adam manner, must have been commanded by owners of the past, Finucanes or Vandeleurs who lorded it here in by-gone days.

But at Cahiracon now one does not think long of past glories or past sorrows. Romantic nostalgia is not its key-note. It is a place of the present and of the future—and of the eternal. For close on twenty years it has been the house of the Sisters of St. Columban, to whom it was given over by the great Maynooth Mission to China. The old billiard-room, built on in Victorian days in anticipation of a promised visit of King Edward VII, then still Prince of Wales and leader of London society, may leak more than a little in wet weather; but nobody looks regretfully at its handsome cornice of plaster shamrocks, Tudor roses and Prince-of-Wales' feathers, or wastes a sentimental sigh upon its past glories; and the leaks disturb nobody, least of all the old campaigners of the Far East. For all the Sisters are either old campaigners who have known much worse conditions in China or the Philippines, or young venturers eager to leave the comparative comfort of Cahiracon for a Chinese compound hundreds of miles up the Yang-tse or a community-house built of packing-cases after the bombing of Lingayen. The spacious drawing-room of

the Vandeleurs has long ago become the chapel of the convent. Its south bay-window, shuttered and curtained with green, is now the " apse " enshrining the altar ; and a great silver sanctuary lamp hangs where formerly candelabra looked down on Victorian and Edwardian beauties. The doors leading out through the handsome conservatory to the side-lawns stand open all day in summer, and the hum of insects, the rustle of trees, or the splash of Irish rain are busy outside in accompaniment to the murmur of the morning Mass or the prayers of the nuns in a chamber where now Eternity dwells in the Tabernacle.

Throughout the day—apart from the hours of formal worship and private adoration which are the source of all their activity—all the Sisters are busy about the tasks of the present : community labours, study, the periodic physical and mental recreation needful for spiritual fitness. But their plans and desires are of the future : the Christian, Catholic future of China, Burma and the Philippines, the fields in which God calls them to serve. Novices and postulants submit themselves to the years of their spiritual formation in order that they may become fitting instruments in this service. Young professed nuns study and train in nursing, medicine and teaching with this service awaiting their coming. Superiors pray and plan and make decisions, train and encourage their Juniors, combat financial set-backs for this alone—like Field-Marshals preparing for a spiritual war of the future for the soul of Asia. And for all—novices, young untried Sisters, old campaigners who now direct the Congregation—these plans are not merely plans for a life-time or a century, but plans conceived in the service of the God of Eternity, in whose sight a thousand ages are as one.

This for the vision : but since we live and labour in time, let me turn back to past events—to the building-up, during a quarter-of-a-century, of this work in the East of which Cahiracon is the " power-house ".[1]

II

We must go back to 1916, when there was founded by the present Bishop Galvin the now-famous Maynooth Mission to China. Maynooth as even a Scot knows, is the great Irish seminary for Catholic priests. In 1916 Fr. Galvin, one of Maynooth's own sons, returned there to gather volunteers for a more thorough organization of his mission-work in Central China. Among those who answered his appeal was the Maynooth professor of Theology, Fr. John Blowick, who gave up his Chair to help him to found his new Congregation of missionary-priests. It was they who first took the old house of Cahiracon and began there the early novitiate for priests specially dedicated to China. Since 1927 the St. Columban Seminary, first at Dalgan, then at Navan, has carried on this work, and

[1] " *Euntes ibant et flebant, mittentes semina sua. Venientes autem venient cum exultatione portantes manipolos suos* " (Psalm 125, 6-7).

Cahiracon has been given over to the Sisters. For in 1916, at a large meeting at the Mansion-House in Dublin, Fr. Blowick had asked for volunteers to found also a Congregation of nursing and teaching-Sisters to aid the new missionaries. Several ladies, still as lay-women, had then entered hospitals to take the necessary training. When this had been completed, there remained the important matter of their religious formation.

It is fairly well-known that nowadays the founders of a new Congregation must choose, from among the Rules of certain older Orders, the basic Rules of their own. That of the Irish Sisters of Charity is one of those approved, and this seemed to the leaders of the new foundation the most suitable for their purpose. When the Decree authorising them to do so had been obtained in 1921, they retired, with several new volunteers (of whom one came from distant Australia), to the old Dower-House on the Cahiracon estate—in reality, a large farm-house with few conveniences. There went with them three nuns lent by the Irish Sisters of Charity. These experienced religious of the elder Congregation put the new volunteers of St. Columban through their novitiate ; in 1924 the first Sisters were professed ; and in 1926 six of them sailed from Cork for Shanghai.

From Shanghai this first little band proceeded six hundred miles by river-steamer up the Yang-tse to Han-Yang, where the pioneer priests were already working. The Chinese Civil War was already at its height and anti-Christian feeling, stimulated by the Communists, ran high. Nevertheless they established themselves in an old Chinese house near the Cathedral and settled down to Community life and the learning of Chinese. They had not been there a year when unrest in the area made the Vicar-General insist on their return to Shanghai. They sailed on the river-steamer—the last to leave among nearly three hundred European refugees—accommodated in the native-quarters near the kitchen. Yet, after an exile of seven months, they were able to return, since General Chiang-kai-shek's army was restoring order in the Central China area. During the next two years they learned Chinese, visited the sick, opened a dispensary, and began to wear down the hatred and suspicion of the " foreign dogs " which had first been howled at them. By 1929 Bishop Galvin (he had been consecrated Titular Bishop of Myrina in 1927) thought they might dare to begin work in outlying districts. Six more Sisters came out from Cahiracon, and a convent was nearly finished for a second foundation at Yuin-Lung-Ho when Communist bandits burned the whole town—and the convent. But if Mohammed could not go to the mountain, the mountain certainly came to Mohammed. A swarm of refugees from the devastated district arrived in Han-Yang, and was accommodated by the Sisters in a large building acquired by the Bishop ; and after their needs had been attended to, a catechumenate was begun among them and numerous conversions made.

A new foundation in the country was attempted again later, not at Yuin-Lung-Ho but at Sien-tao-chen, chosen because it had never yet attracted the attention of the bandits. Fr. Laffan, the pastor of a fair-sized Catholic community there, escorted the chosen Sisters from Han-Yang on the Tuesday of Holy Week. On Easter Monday, Bishop Galvin arrived in Sien-tao-chen to discuss plans for the new field of work—and on Friday of Easter week the Sixth Communist army attacked the town. An early Mass had just ended when the soldiers took possession of the church and the Mission-compound. The Sisters, herded in an upstair room, heard the destruction that ensued and the cries of " Kill ! Kill ! " The Sacred Vessels had been hastily buried, but a guard set round the buildings prevented the Bishop and Frs. Laffan and Linehan from getting the nuns away to any place of safety. Midday came, and then for some reason the soldiers were all summoned to the front of the house. A pagan Chinese woman called over the wall to the Bishop that the coast was clear. Out fled the small Community into the fields, skulking behind grave-piles and patches of corn until they reached and crossed the local river. Had not an elderly Chinese Christian woman deliberately mis-directed their pursuers, the nuns must have been caught ; but, as it was, after walking all day they reached the main river, the Han, where native boats were found to take them back to comparative safety in Han-Yang. The Sien-tao-chen foundation had lasted for exactly ten days.

The story of the years between 1930 and 1937 is full of adventure, successes and failures. At one time, Han-Yang itself had to be evacuated, and the convents and their schools transferred in native junks to Hankow. At another, terrific floods inundated Han-Yang with both waters and refugees, and four thousand women and children were accommodated in a building planned to house twelve Columban Sisters. Cholera, dysentery and smallpox epidemics figure frequently in the history of these early years. But the dispensary, the isolation hospital, and above all the charity of the Sisters, bore fruit in many baptisms and conversions. By the end of 1937 Bishop Galvin wrote : " Peace has come to the Vicariate, and with it a deluge of conversions. We have day-schools for the women and night-schools for the men. We are at our wits' end to cope with the numbers ". New spheres of work in outer pagan districts opened up rapidly as further recruits came out to join the original Community. Catechumenates which were now opened in two remoter towns, Shinto and Mowangtsi, meant hard pioneer living for the Sisters sent there : one room for refectory, dormitory, Community-room and kitchen, make-shift beds and soap-box chairs. But over five thousand adult converts were instructed and baptised in these two parishes.

Without warning or declaration, at the end of 1937, Japan attacked China. Shanghai was captured, and a great army marched on Nan-king. Han-kow and Han-Yang were bombed from the air again and again.

The Columban Sisters of Han-Yang worked in the two military hospitals of the city, and turned their catechumenates into a hospital and their dispensary into an operating-theatre where Fr. MacDonald, a Columban priest and a qualified doctor, worked with Chinese lady-doctors, operating day and night. Meanwhile, in Han-kow, Bishop Galvin, as Chairman of the International Relief Committee, organised feeding for forty-one thousand refugees and supplied the Protestant hospital with Columban Sisters to replace repatriated European nurses.

III

Yet even amid warfare new ventures were undertaken. Already, away back in 1935 a foundation had been made, at the request of Bishop Cleary of the Kiang-Si Vicariate, at Nan-cheng, in a distant and different area of Central China. Here an orphanage, a dispensary, a catechumenate and a virginate for the training of Chinese girls who wish to become auxiliary Sisters had been successfully established. Now, in the midst of the Japanese invasion, a further foundation, and that a somewhat unusual one, was called for. There is in Shanghai a large community of about fifty thousand White Russian exiles. They have their own theatre, shops, and Orthodox churches. There is also a Russian Catholic church ; for a number of these exiles are Catholics. The Jesuit Bishop of Shanghai asked the Columban Sisters to take charge of a school for Russian children, and in spite of all difficulties of warfare this was done in January 1938.

As those acquainted with the problem of the Russian Church are aware, one of the chief obstacles to conversion from the Orthdox to the Catholic Church is the fear that converts may be required to accept the Latin rite of the Mass used by all Catholics of Western Europe. This is not so, as the Vatican recognises among others an ancient Oriental rite, the Slav-Byzantine ; according to which, in fact, Mass was recently celebrated in St. Peter's itself on March 12, 1946, the anniversary of the Holy Father's coronation. His Eminence Cardinal Tisserant of the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Church therefore requested that the Community which opened the Russian school in Shanghai should adopt the Slav-Byzantine rite. Thus the chapel of the Shanghai Columban Sisters is decorated in Byzantine style, with Ikonastasis and ikons, and the Sisters themselves at their daily Mass sing the ancient Russian responses to the traditional Russian chant. As many of their pupils are daughters of Orthodox families, it frequently happens that such girls, after their schooldays, choose to become Catholics. It is therefore unnecessary to point out the great value of the work done by " Sancta Sophia ", as this convent is called.

If the work in Han-Yang, Nan-cheng and Shanghai were all that the

Columban Sisters had achieved in twenty odd years, that work would still seem worthy of all admiration. But nothing has been said yet of their work in the Philippine Islands. Since the Shinti and Mowangtsi convents had to be closed in 1937 because of war dangers in such outlying districts, the indomitable Congregation was able to accept an offer from the Bishop of Lingayen to open two convents, one in the cathedral town of Lingayen, in Luzon Island, and one at Malasiqui. In 1941 they opened, also, a High School at Misamis, in Mindanao, the most southerly island. Of the nuns and priests there, almost no news came through after the Japanese swarmed in early in 1942. Now the Congregation rejoices to know that, although, alas! a number of Columban priests were killed, their Sisters all, by the mercy of God, survived. How they did survive is almost a miracle, for they spent the three years of war wandering in the hills, hiding with friendly Filipinos, often sleeping on the bare ground. Once peace was declared, Mother Francis de Sales, Superior at Misamis, wrote gaily to her Mother-General: " If ever you wish to make a foundation on half-a-dozen cocoa-shells and a few palm-leaves, it will now be quite a simple matter! " The High School at Misamis has now opened again, with five hundred pupils. The Filipino Government is winking, for the time being, at its lack of equipment (no one has any, anyhow, in the Philippines at present), but is being very difficult about teaching qualifications. Fortunately there are, among the Sisters recently sent out from Cahiracon, some with degrees.

But the truth is that these young Sisters bring to the service of even the most captious government gifts which no scholarly degree can guarantee and which can be commanded by no human departmental regulation. An R.A.F. officer writing recently from Rangoon of the latest band to be sent from home, a small Community travelling to begin a new mission in North Burma, salutes them as " five gallant little Sisters "; and indeed, as I know them, they are both gay and gallant, eager for knowledge and ardent for service in the footsteps of their pioneers. They are " simple " in the true sense, as free from the affectations and evasions of false piety as any young women I have ever known. This simplicity they have in part, I believe, from the tradition of the older Sisters, who have all the calm, practical, unconscious dignity that comes of an unwavering certainty as to what really matters in life and in eternity; which comes, in fact from unalloyed faith already many times tested in the crucible of danger and hardship. It has often been said that, apart from general faith and zeal common to all, each religious Congregation has its own particular spirit which it draws from its founders and earliest Sisters; and it has often seemed to me, both when I first knew them and since, that I have had the privilege of watching this axiom working itself out under my own eyes, of observing how the spiritual and practical quality of the returned pioneers has imparted itself quietly to the younger, untested Sisters.

This is the true implanting of a tradition, a true example of how a good thing grows with its roots in the past and its buds opening out to the light of the future. American Society, I have been told, has the pretty custom of using the name " buds " for its youthful débutantes. These young Sisters are the débutantes of the Columban Congregation, its buds who turn to the East, and to the sun, rising there, of the glory of God in the souls of Asia. They are modern in the best sense of the word, modern members of a modern Missionary Congregation, ready to avail themselves of all that is good in modern education and nursing and surgery, and to turn it all to use for their one great purpose, the conversion of the Far East. Neither they nor their Superiors forget the signal pronouncement of Pope Pius XI, that Catholic missionaries must be not only as well but even better equipped than those of non-Catholic sects.

IV

In order to carry out as well as possible this supremely wise counsel of His Holiness, the Columban Sisters in 1942 opened by permission of the Archbishop of Dublin a House of Studies at 56 Merrion Square. Here the young professed Sisters live in Community, but are able to attend University classes or to train for nursing in the great Dublin hospitals. Of these student Sisters, two have this summer qualified as doctors, and others are following close behind them. Two, one now in Burma, the other in Shanghai, recently completed a course in Montessori methods of teaching young children. Several qualified in Institutional management at Cathal Brugha College, others were trained at Cabra for work among the deaf-and-dumb, and one gained a diploma in Librarianship. University degrees, an M.A. and several B.As., have been achieved also, and four Sisters have gained the A.L.C.M. in Music.

The work of the winter over, they return to the West to reunite themselves with the practical and spiritual life of the Mother-House and to enjoy simply and reasonably the holiday which their prudent Superiors enjoin for them, sharing in house-work, recreation and prayer, and cultivating, even on holiday, something of the adaptable, energetic " Boy-Scout " spirit necessary for the missionary nun. Could one look down upon the rocky Shannon beach at Cahiracon during a certain fortnight in these warm days of summer, one might observe—say, from an air-plane flying over from Foynes or Rineanna—a circle of black-robed forms seated around a fire and a cooking-pot. The witches from " Macbeth " around their cauldron ? Not at all ! The holiday student-Sisters of St. Columban cooking their meal out of doors ! And why not ? Cahiracon is not a small house ; but even so, a considerable addition of Sisters helps to strain its kitchen facilities ; and fresh air and sunshine are among the gifts of the good God which promote the vigour needful for next year's studies ; and—who knows ?—it may be that in the future this practical

experience of open-air cookery may have its uses in some undreamt-of emergency in a distant land ! The essence of this pioneer spirit is to be found in the plaint recorded in the post-war letter of a Philippine Sister, one of those who endured, in flight from the Japanese, years of hiding in the jungles of Mindanao : unable to sleep one night on the uncomfortably-ridged bamboo floor of a native house, an attempt which might have commended itself to a mediaeval anchorite, she lamented : " Oh, what a terrible misfortune it is to have been reared in comfort ! " One is thrown back upon memories of self-pitying story-book heroines in " decayed circumstances " who wail tragically : " That I, who was brought up in such luxury, should come to this ! " The Columban " Boy-Scout " modern missionary heroine reverses the process of thinking, deploring with much healthier and more admirable fortitude, not her circumstances, but herself !

V

" *Jam hiems transiit, imber abiit et recessit : surge, amica mea, et veni* ".

A General Chapter held in 1946 brought home a number of these senior war-veterans, cheerful, serene and optimistic in spite of all, concerned far more for the future of their missions than for the past hardships they had endured. They told urgently of the need to rebuild and restaff former schools and hospitals, and they told also of the fresh fields awaiting development. Natural human prudence would counsel that rehabilitation should be looked to before new foundations, and that no more should be undertaken before the ground lost was already recovered and a " reserve " of finances and qualified subjects established to draw upon. It was when St. Peter's night of fishing had been most disappointing that Our Lord bade him stand out into deep waters and let down his nets for a catch—and what a catch, drawn by the virtue of obedience, it proved to be ! With more than enough of responsibility on their shoulders, the Sisters of St. Columban have courageously sponsored two completely new undertakings in such widely-distant fields as California and Burma.

It might seem that California, in the Christian United States of America, should have no need of missionary Sisters ; but the call there is a somewhat unusual one. During the years of anti-Christian persecution in Mexico, thousands of refugees have flocked across the South Californian border into the Archdiocese of Los Angeles. Columban Fathers of the American seminaries, who have been working among them for some time, recently asked for Sisters, either from Éire or from the American House at Silver Creek, N.Y., to undertake teaching, social service and catechetical work. On July 16, Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, those who had received their obedience for this service opened a school at Los Alamitos, from which centre they propose to work also in other surrounding parishes—

once they can procure a car in which to " get around ". Meanwhile, in early June of this year, five young Sisters from Éire were travelling by 'plane above the flood-swollen Irawaddy from Rangoon to Northern Burma, where, on the Feast of the Sacred Heart, they heard their first Mass in their new convent at Myitkyina in the Prefecture of Bhamo, near the Chinese frontier.

Let it not be forgotten, moreover, to count in this new giving of hostages to faith what the Congregation, rejoicing in sorrow, delights to call its " first foundation in Heaven ". In mid-April there returned to God the first of the Columban Sisters to die in His service : Mother Mary Dolores, one of the most devoted and highly-qualified of the earlier volunteers, who, after seventeen years' work in China, returned, worn-out and ill, from Shanghai, where she had been Superior during the wearing years of war, to pass onward from Cahiracon to Eternity. The sufferings of her final weeks had all been offered for the intentions of her Mother-General and ex-Mother-General, both of whom had gone to Rome before Easter to present their Constitutions for approval by the Holy Father—who, at their audience on the day following her death, then still unknown to them, sent her his special blessing. She is buried beneath the first little cross to be erected in the small white-railed " God's-acre " close by the Cahiracon woods, in sight of the chapel where her Sisters gather before the altar. She is their pioneer in Eternity, from whose intercession they hope to draw help for their future ventures for souls in the China which she loved.

This Congregation is a truly Irish one. Its holy Patron, the great St. Columban, the evangelist of Gaul and of part of Switzerland, who died at Bobbio in Northern Italy in 615, over thirteen centuries ago, was himself an Irishman. After twenty-five years of patient labour, his twentieth-century Sisterhood has had, in this their Silver Jubilee year, the joy of receiving from the Papal See, on April 23, the Feast of the Patronage of St. Joseph, the formal approval of their Constitutions and the honour of having their Congregation raised to Pontifical Status. With the advent of peace in the East and with their holy commission thus confirmed, they are setting forth with new ardour upon the renewal of the campaign to which they are dedicated, the warfare of the evangelizing Church—the spiritual warfare for the soul of Asia. They count upon the prayers of the people of Éire for their needs.

" The Son of God goes forth to War :
Who follows in His train ? "

MARGARET L. FAIRBAIRN

BIRDS OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

BY P. G. KENNEDY, S.J.

PART XVIII.—DIVING DUCKS

THE TUFTED DUCK.—One of the most remarkable changes that have occurred in the status of birds in Ireland is that in fairly recent times several species of duck, formerly known only as winter visitors, have remained to nest and have become resident. The Tufted Duck was one of the first of these winter migrants to establish itself as a breeding species. Since 1877, when it was considered to have first nested in Lough Erne, it has spread rapidly and is still extending its breeding range in this country. It is now known to nest in the majority of the Irish counties.

Abroad the species has a breeding range extending across northern Europe and Asia and a wintering area in southern Europe, Asia and northern Africa. The numbers in this country are greatly increased from autumn to spring by the arrival of immigrants from overseas. Birds ringed as young or as adults in Great Britain, Denmark and Finland have been found in various Irish counties, but quite remarkable is the comparatively large number ringed in Iceland and recovered here in all the four provinces.

The " Magpie-Diver ", as some sportsmen call the Tufted Duck, is the most wide-spread and best known of the Diving Ducks. The male is easily recognized, being black above and white below, with a long, graceful crest even in winter, and showing when afloat a distinct patch of white on the sides just above the water-line. The female and young birds are less distinctive, being dark brown above and dull white below, with usually a little white around the base of the bill, but never such a broad and well-defined band as at the base of the female Scaup's bill. Their crest, being much shorter than in the adult male, is only visible at close range. In winter the female has much less white above the water-line than the male and little or none in the breeding season. The bill is slate-blue in the drake, and slate-grey in the duck. Both sexes show a broad, white wing-bar in flight.

In winter the Tufted Duck is gregarious, appearing in small parties of five or six and often in larger numbers. I have frequently seen flocks of 40 or 50 on the waters in the Phœnix Park, where they freely associate with Common Pochards. In these flocks I have noticed a preponderance of males over females, but not to such a marked extent as in the case of Pochards. It frequents lakes and other fresh waters, large and small, preferably with fringing reeds and other growth ; but in winter, especially in hard weather, it is regularly seen on reservoirs and in estuaries with

no cover at all—rarely, however, on the sea. Flocks spend much of their time floating lightly on the water, but they may be found diving for food at all hours, when bird after bird vanishes under the water, leaving on the surface a series of rings and eddies.

Tufted Ducks are single-brooded and nest on islands and in the sedgy borders of lakes and, at times, of quite small pools, generally near the water. Considerable numbers may occasionally be found nesting close together. In late May and early June I have seen eight or ten nests in the reedy margins of quite small bays on the Clare side of Lough Derg. Large clutches of 14 or more are sometimes found, but in my experience the average clutch was about 8, the largest being 10. Having finished hatching, the female alone takes all the responsibility of convoying and tending the family of sooty-brown ducklings. At first she brings up food for them by diving, but they soon learn to dive for themselves.

The Scaup-Duck.—Rarely falling to the guns of inland fowlers, the Scaup is by no means a well-known duck of the countryside. Indeed it is seldom found on fresh water except near the coast. It is a regular winter visitor to certain bays and estuaries, being most numerous on the north and west coasts. Payne-Gallwey writes: "In many parts of Ireland, notably the Shannon, Galway, Kerry, Dundalk, Donegal and in the northern marine loughs, I have often seen two to three thousand of these birds together." (*The Fowler in Ireland*, p. 103.) The largest numbers I have seen were flocks of not more than fifty or sixty birds near the mouth of the Boyne, while on the Dublin coast I have never come across more than two or three together. A few Scaups remain during summer, but there has been no evidence that any ever nested.

The Scaup-Duck breeds in the northern regions of the Old and New Worlds and winters in southern Europe, Asia and the southern United States of America. From the evidence of ringed birds it would appear that all our wintering Scaups come from Iceland. I have before me the data of some two dozen birds which were recovered in various counties of the four provinces and which were all ringed as young or breeding adults in Iceland. No Scaup ringed elsewhere has been so far found here, though it is not unlikely that some come from Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia.

The male Scaup is a handsome and distinctive duck with a black head glossed with green, black shoulders and breast, vermiculated pale-grey back, white flanks and black upper and under tail-coverts. In the female the parts, which are black in the male, are cinnamon-brown, but her outstanding feature is a broad white band at the base of the bill. Both sexes have a white wing-bar. The bill is bright lead-blue in the male, slightly darker in the female; the feet and legs are lead-blue, duller in the female.

THE GOLDENEYE.—The Goldeneye is a well-distributed, though not a very abundant, winter visitor from October to March or April. It is usually in quite small parties of ten or a dozen and often fewer, though flocks of one to two hundred have been recorded. Early in the season there is a preponderance of females and immature birds, but in late winter and early spring, at any rate on the Dublin coast, adult males are not at all uncommon. It is said to be more frequent in the north than in Munster, but it is found in all parts of the country both on salt and fresh water.

The Goldeneye is so called because it has golden-yellow irides. But the name may prove misleading, for the Tufted Duck, which is in fact sometimes misnamed the "Goldeneye", and the Scaup-Duck at all ages also have golden-yellow eyes. There are, however, other characteristics by which the species can usually be distinguished. The adult male offers no difficulties. Its boldly black and white pattern, its black head, showing a green and purple sheen at close quarters, and a circular white patch between the eye and the bill are distinctive even at a distance. The back and tail are black, the neck, under-parts and sides white, with black streaks on the scapulars and flanks. The wings are black with a conspicuous broad white patch on the basal half, extending to nearly the front edge. Less obvious are the females and young, which are chocolate-headed and mottled grey birds, with a wing-patch appearing as a white mark on the sides. Adult females have an obscure white collar which immature birds lack. The bill in adults is blackish, yellowish at the tip in the female, while the legs are orange in the male, paler in the female.

The Goldeneye is an expert diver, and when feeding is much longer under water than on the surface. In its nesting habits it differs from most other ducks, for choice selecting a hole in a tree and readily taking to nesting boxes erected for the purpose. The people of some northern districts of Scandinavia prepare hollow logs of wood, which they affix to the trunks of living trees in suitable places, and they take first the numerous eggs that are laid and finally the feathers and down of which the nest is made. In England, where the Goldeneye bred in 1931 and 1932, it nested in rabbit-burrows. It breeds in northern Europe and Asia and winters from southern Europe east to India, China and Japan. In America it is replaced by an allied species.

THE LONG-TAILED DUCK.—The Long-tailed Duck is a winter visitor in small numbers to all our coasts and estuaries, but is more frequent in the north and west. It has been recorded from October to April, sometimes in May and once in June. Though thoroughly marine in its habits, it has been found singly on fresh-water lakes. Ussher and Warren report several occurrences on Lough Derg, Lough Conn and other inlandwaters, and once on a small pond at Rathfarnham, Dublin.

The Long-Tail is a small and squat duck with a noticeably short bill. In winter plumage, in which it is generally seen here, adults of both sexes have the head mainly white and white flanks and hinder under-parts. The male is quite distinctive even at a distance with his bold pattern of dark brown and white and long pointed tail. He has a dark brown patch on the neck and a broad pectoral band and the middle of the back of the same colour. The adult female has the whole back mottled dark brown, a dusky crown and patch on the upper neck, and an obscure pectoral band. Both sexes have the wings uniformly blackish without bars, and this is a very useful character in distinguishing the Long-tailed Duck from the Smew in flight. I remember on one occasion, when I was on the West Pier, Dunleary, with another observer, we saw a duck on the water too far away to make out the details of its plumage. But it looked so white about the head and shoulders that we concluded it was either a Long-tailed Duck or a male Smew. Then after a while, during which it swam about and dived in the company of a small party of Red-breasted Mergansers, it obligingly stood, as it were, on the water with its back towards us and vigorously flapped its wings, thereby revealing two white bars on each side. That settled the matter to our satisfaction that the bird was a Smew and not a Long-tailed Duck. On a few occasions in April on the Dublin coast I have seen the male in its very beautiful summer plumage. The sides of the face were white, but the rest of the head, neck and breast were dark brown, while the whole back, including scapulars, were a rich brown. The female in summer has a dark head with white around the eye, the upper-parts duller than in winter, the breast brownish and a faint whitish collar. Many of the birds seen during winter are in various stages of immature plumage and are not easy to place. On several occasions in December 1946 I saw young birds in the vicinity of the North Bull, Dublin, and on December 20th I handled one which had been shot a day or two previously near Donabate, Co. Dublin. All these were in juvenile, as distinguished from first winter, plumage. They had the head and crown black-brown, the back sooty-brown, a white patch on the face and white under-parts.

The Long-tailed Duck is circumpolar and mainly arctic in its breeding range ; it nests in considerable numbers in Iceland. It winters in southern Europe and in Asia east to China and Japan, while in America, where it is known as the " Old Squaw ", from its gabbling cry, it migrates to the middle states of U.S.A.

THE COMMON EIDER.—When Ussher and Warren wrote in 1900, the Common Eider was only a rare and irregular winter visitor to all our coasts, but chiefly to the north. Since then it has become a numerous and annual breeding species. In 1912 two nests with eggs were seen on a small island off Donegal. It soon increased in numbers and spread

to two other islands on the same coast. It now seems quite firmly established. On different occasions I have seen more than one hundred drakes resting together on rocks and reefs near the mainland, while the ducks were hatching on the islands. I have visited one of the islands and have seen the ducks on their nests, and later in the season I have watched several broods of young shepherded by one or two mothers in small bays of the mainland. In winter it continues to be rare, since it is a thoroughly marine species, spending much of its time well out to sea and only accidentally ever coming to inland waters.

The Eider is a large, heavy duck, with a curious profile for a bird and suggestive of a Grecian nose, due to the broad-based bill sloping in an almost straight line from the forehead to the tip. The drake is a conspicuous bird, white above, except for the crown and lower back, which like most of the under-parts are black. There are green patches on the sides of the head and a white spot on the sides near the tail. In flight he shows a white fore-wing contrasting with the black quills. The duck is less distinctive, being a warm brown, streaked and mottled with black. In flight she shows rather obscure buffish wing-bars, noticeable only at close range. Young birds mature very slowly. The males, at first more or less resembling the females, do not acquire complete adult plumage until the fourth year.

Common Eiders are equally at home on calm and rough seas, riding through the curling crests of the waves and dipping into the troughs without raising their heads from their breasts. They feed by diving, but sometimes in shallow water merely by dipping their heads without " up-ending ". The flight is low over the water, parties generally moving in single file.

The nest is a mere hollow in the ground, sometimes in the open, sometimes sheltered by rocks or growing vegetation. The foundation is of grass or sea-weed, plentifully lined with down and feathers. The pale greyish-brown down is in some countries collected from the nests and, owing to its extreme lightness and elasticity, is used commercially for " Eider-down " bed-coverlets. The duck sits very close while hatching, and I have stroked the back of one without driving her off her eggs. In the nests which I have examined there were three, four or five eggs, but larger clutches have been reported.

The species breeds abundantly in Iceland, Norway and Sweden, and also in Finland, N. Russia, Denmark, Holland and Brittany in France, on the east side of Scotland from Berwick to Aberdeen and in England on some islands off the coast of Northumberland. In winter it is found along the Atlantic seaboard, occasionally in the Mediterranean.

The King-Eider.—This species of Eider is a very rare winter visitor, having been obtained on only four or five instances from Dublin Bay,

Achill and the coast of Ulster. The last specimen, shot off Donaghadee, Co. Down, on November 10th 1897, was the only adult male among those obtained.

Rather smaller than the Common Eider, the drake King-Eider can be recognized by his pearl-grey crown, black scapulars and a broad orange shield, framed in black, at the base of the bill. Except in the most favourable circumstances, the female cannot be safely identified on the water, but in the hand the length of the wedge in the centre of the bill, reaching to the nostrils, is a useful character. Thus two birds, either females or immature males, shot in Kerry and preserved in the Chute collection, were considered by Thompson to be King-Eiders, but Ussher writes : " On examining them I find that in neither specimen does the central line of feathers on the upper mandible extend half way down to the nostrils, which proves them to be Common Eiders." (*Birds of Ireland*, p. 211.)

The Common Scoter.—The Common Scoter is principally known as a winter visitor to the coasts, chiefly in the northern half of Ireland. It regularly frequents Dublin Bay from October to April. Watters wrote (1853) : " On several occasions we have observed flocks of those birds, averaging from five to twenty, busily occupied diving, and at times resting in the most complete security, with the head placed under the dorsal plumage, along the coast between Merrion and Kingstown, and in a similar manner at Malahide and Skerries." (*Birds of Ireland*, p. 212.) Today, after the lapse of nearly a century, the conditions are much the same. Looking from the West Pier, Dunleary, towards the Pigeon House Fort, one can usually see a dozen or two " Black Ducks " on the water, while from Malahide one has occasionally seen flocks of over one hundred birds. Like the Tufted Duck and the Common Eider, the Common Scoter has in comparatively recent years become a breeding species in this country. It was believed to have nested in 1904, and in 1905 a nest with eggs was found in one of our larger freshwater lakes. It has since continued to breed there in substantially increased numbers. Outside the nesting season it is a thoroughly marine species, but single birds have often been met with inland, and Watters notes one instance " of their occurrence in small flocks on inland lakes," adding : " Yet, more unusual, on two occasions this Scoter has been shot whilst apparently searching for food along the bottoms of wet ditches and open drains, one of which was obtained at Beggar's Bush, near Dublin" (loc. cit.). Beggar's Bush is now *in* Dublin and the wet ditches and open drains have long since disappeared from the whole vicinity.

The drake is entirely glossy black with a black knob at the base of the bill. There is just one spot of colour—an orange-yellow patch on the upper mandible from the knob to the nail, while the rest of the bill

is lead-blue ; the legs are brownish-black. The duck is duller, her brown-black colour being relieved by her pale cheeks and whitish chin. Her greenish-black bill is without the knob and generally without the orange-yellow, and her legs and feet are olive-brown with blackish webs. Immature birds have the under-parts white mottled with brown.

Barrington found in the reports from Light-stations that the Scoter strikes more frequently than other ducks, and six examples killed at lanterns were forwarded to him. (*Migration of Birds*, p. 261.) It seldom comes near the shore, but I have seen pairs or single birds resting or preening on the sandbanks and piers of the Dublin coast. In all these cases but one I could detect no sign of oil on the plumage. But the one exception was a very badly oiled female. For two days I saw it on the seaward side of the West Pier, Dunleary, on the first day vainly trying to preen its matted feathers, and on the second sitting motionless and just waiting for the end. Floating oil is the most cruel and serious menace to sea birds today, leading, as it does so often, to a lingering death from exposure and starvation.

The nests which I have examined were on small wooded islands in a large lake and were not more than a few yards from the water. They were lined with grasses, feathers and dark brown down and contained from five to nine eggs. When I visited the lake a month later, in early July, I saw several ducks with their families along the little bays of the mainland. There were no drakes in attendance.

The late Mrs. Rathborne of Castlecaldwell, Co. Fermanagh, once tried the experiment of hand-rearing a clutch of Common Scoters, having had the eggs hatched by a domestic hen. The black-brown ducklings proved to be great pets and showed a dog-like affection for their mistress. Every morning she would take them in a basket down to the lake, where they would rush into the water, gambol and dive and chase one another, treading the water after the manner of their kind. Meanwhile she looked on with pleasure at their antics, but when she considered that they had had enough, she would hide in the laurels. Presently they would miss her from the bank and would all scramble ashore, running hither and thither with much anxious cheeping, until one happened to find her and by its sudden change of call-note, from anxiety to relief, quickly brought the others to her feet. Then they would contentedly climb into the basket to be carried home. Unfortunately the experiment proved a failure. When the young ducks were almost fully grown, they died one after another. An expert who examined one of the dead bodies pronounced that death was caused by a disease of the bones due to lack of calcium. In the wild state Scoters feed largely on molluscs and crustaceans which supply the carbonates apparently necessary for the survival of the species.

THE VELVET-SCOTER.—The Velvet-Scoter is a rare winter visitor to our shores, having been more frequently found in the bays of Dublin and Louth than elsewhere. I have seen it on three occasions on the Dublin coast, a pair at Skerries and single birds at Dollymount and Dunleary. Mr. P. E. Dunn and I identified the birds at Skerries on June 13th 1931, and a week later in the same place Mr. J. B. Watson, an English ornithologist, watched three Velvet-Scoters. (*British Birds*, September 1931.) Besides these occurrences at Skerries, two or three others have been recorded for summer.

Unlike the Common Scoter, this species is rarely seen anywhere in large flocks, and even where numerous it is said to break up into small scattered parties of from about five to fifteen. Otherwise the two species are very similar in habits. The Velvet may be told from the Common Scoter by its somewhat larger size and by its broad white wingbar, which is shown well in flight and when, after the manner of other Diving Ducks, the bird raises itself in the water and flaps its wings. The drake is glossy black with a broad orange band on the bill and a white spot immediately below the eye, while the duck is brown with two white patches, a small one at the base of the bill and a larger one behind the eye.

The Velvet-Scoter breeds in northern Europe and in north-western Asia and winters from the Baltic and North Seas to the coasts of the Iberian Peninsula, the Black, Caspian and Aral Seas.

THE SURF-SCOTER.—This North American species breeds in the Nearctic region and in winter migrates south, on the east coast to Florida and on the west to California. It is a very rare casual visitor to this country from September to January, having been obtained only on six occasions in the latter half of the last century. The last two obtained were a pair, which Warren observed on the Moyne Channel, near Killala, Co. Mayo, on December 19th 1896. He shot the female and wounded the male on that date, and in the same place on January 16th 1897 he finally secured the male.

The drake is glossy black, with two patches of white on the head, the one between the eyes being rectangular, and the other at the back of the neck triangular. The bill, of red, yellow and white with squarish black patches at the sides, is quite distinctive ; the legs are reddish-orange. Females and immature birds have two white patches on the head, like the female Velvet-Scoter, from which they are said to be indistinguishable on the water, unless the absence of white on the wing can be established. The bill of the duck is dark olive and the legs are dull orange. The profile of the head in both sexes is rather like the Common Eider's, from the crown to the tip of the bill being more or less a straight line.

P. G. KENNEDY

THE CHURCH IN MAURITIUS

BY CHARLOTTE M. KELLY

THE introduction of Christianity into Mauritius dates back to a day in 1722 when, the French India Company having formally taken possession of the then derelict island, a devout Breton sailor erected at the entrance to the harbour of Port Louis a thirty-foot cross bearing the arms of France and the inscription : " Lilia fixa crucis capiti mirare sacrata. Ne stupeas : jubet hic Gallia stare crucem."

But if France brought the faith to Mauritius, Ireland and England have played an important part in spreading it, and all three may claim credit for the flourishing state of the Church there to-day. The link between this country and Mauritius, forged over a hundred years ago, has been strengthened throughout a century by the Irish missionaries who went out in increasing numbers to build churches, establish schools, and take an active part in the work of the apostolate.

Mauritius, one of a group of volcanic islands some 500 miles to the east of Madagascar and known as the Mascareignes, possesses a tropical beauty that has won for it the name of " Star of the Indian Ocean " ; the reader will find it worthily described by Saint-Pierre in *Paul et Virginie*. Its climate is comparatively healthy, but the island is constantly swept by violent storms and whirlwinds that bring frequent destruction to buildings and denude coastal plantations of their soil. It was discovered by the Portuguese in 1507, but they made no attempt to annex it. It was not until 1638 that the Dutch made the first settlement on the island, which they named Mauritius after the Regent Maurice of Nassau. They began the work of clearing the dense forests and were responsible for the introduction from Batavia of the sugar cane, which was to become the chief product of Mauritius and its principal source of revenue down to the present day. That first settlement was destined to be of short duration however. Cyclones and inundations, added to a plague of rats, drove the settlers away in 1712 to seek less difficult conditions in the Cape. (Natural calamities have been rather frequent in Mauritius—for instance, in 1854 cholera caused the death of 17,000 persons ; in 1867 over 30,000 died of malarial fever ; in 1892 a hurricane of great violence caused immense destruction of property and loss of life ; in 1893 a great part of Port Louis was destroyed by fire).

Nine years passed before the French came to establish a permanent colony in the island, which they renamed " Ile de France ". The city of Port Louis was founded in 1735 by Mahé de Labourdonnais, Governor of the Mascareignes, who saw the possibilities of the harbour on the west coast and brought about the transfer of some two thousand Creoles and negroes from the neighbouring island of Réunion. (It is this same Labourdonnais who figures in Saint-Pierre's romance as the arbiter of

the destinies of Paul and Virginia). The colony developed rapidly under his supervision. Roads were built, towns were established and the harbour of Port Louis was equipped and fortified. It is of interest to note that as the population increased the early settlers (all of whom were French), fearing to lose their national characteristics by an admixture of foreign blood, asked that girls be sent out from France to the colony. The names of these girls, who were to help to found the aristocratic Creole families, were discovered early this century in the archives of the French Ministry.

The first missionaries to reach the Ile de France were two Lazarists, who accompanied the original party of colonists and who established a " parish " in each of the two ports round which a settlement was made. Their work was immeasurably difficult. One of them writing in 1735 laments his people's want of religion, their viciousness and shameless habits, and their overwhelming pride. He had fifteen hundred souls in his care, many of them ill and dying from the scurvy brought by the immigrant ships from France ; the impossibility of rendering spiritual aid to all who needed it filled him with despair. War between England and France made it difficult to keep up a regular supply of missionaries ; in 1764 there were only four Lazarists, two of them old and infirm, left in the island. In a letter to the Archbishop of Paris, who by a Brief of Pope Benedict XIV was Papal Delegate to the Ile de France, a Lazarist wrote : " The need for missionaries in the Ile de France is as great as at Bourbon. There are ten to twelve thousand souls and but three parishes. The people are widely spread over the island, with the result that many live far away from the church ; and so their children are left without religious instruction and grow up indifferent to the practice of their religion and to the Holy Mass. For nine years there has been talk of building two new churches—the people demand them—but the (French India) Company, who are responsible for their maintenance, does nothing. It is true that the war has made things difficult, but they are erecting places of entertainment that are of no importance compared to the Lord's House. The church at Port Louis, capital of the Colony, is a miserable building—neither large enough for the congregation nor worthy of its divine purpose."

In 1771 the island was withdrawn from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Bourbon (Réunion), to which it had hitherto been subject, and became an independent Apostolic Prefecture with five parishes in the charge of the Lazarists. But the French Revolution was to deprive the missionaries of all their possessions, and under the Empire they were compensated only by a small pension. When the nineteenth century opened, there were but three left.

French domination was almost at an end. The successful attack by the English in 1810 resulted in the island becoming an English colony,

but by the Treaty of Paris it was laid down that the Catholic religion and the French laws and language be retained. To the present day French is the language generally spoken, and French customs still colour to a large degree the life of the community.

The island, once more known as Mauritius, became a Vicariate in 1819 and the Lazarists were replaced by the English Benedictines, helped by French secular clergy who had come out following the Revolution. This Vicariate included, besides Mauritius, Madagascar, St. Helena, Seychelles, part of South Africa and all of Australia—a goodly territory. Very soon however these places became independent with Vicariates of their own, while the Diocese of Port Louis, established on 1 December 1847, remained much as it is to-day—to quote its Calendar: "One of the smallest, yet one of the most far flung in the world; for, though it covers only eight hundred square miles in extent, its farthest dependency is thirteen hundred miles away."

Until the advent of the English the Catholic Church held undisputed sway in spiritual matters, but after the change of government Protestant missionaries arrived in Mauritius and, following the liberation of the slaves in 1838, the Hindu and Islamite religions were introduced by Indian labourers who came to work in the sugar plantations. Indeed representatives of all races and every religion were to be found in the island, for Mauritius was the crossroads of the world. Besides the descendants of the original French settlers and the British who had come with the new regime, there were Arabs, Chinese, Malays, and natives of Malabar and Madagascar—in all a population of 380,000 inhabitants that made this domain of eight hundred square miles the most densely populated place in the universe.

The difficulties that confronted Mgr. Collier, Vicar Apostolic and first Bishop of Port Louis, on his arrival in 1841 were immense. The French Revolution, followed by the Napoleonic Wars and the conquest by England, had had a lamentable effect upon the spiritual well-being of the people. The French missionaries were gone, and those who replaced them had been chosen hurriedly and in insufficient numbers. There were only eight priests among ninety thousand Catholics; the churches were practically empty; there was no Sunday observance and not a single exclusively Catholic school. Undaunted by the magnitude of the tasks that awaited him and by the hostility or indifference with which he and his companions were received, Mgr. Collier set himself to a long and careful study of the situation, in which he found two elements of good. Firstly, the Mauritians, though ignorant and apathetic, were not at heart irreligious; secondly, woman was accorded a very high place in the community. The mistress of her home, she was regarded with affection and respect by her family, over whom she exercised an authority that was never questioned. Herein Mgr. Collier saw the means of bringing

about a spiritual regeneration of the people. He must obtain sufficient clergy to ensure that adequate religious instruction was available for all who needed it, and he must induce a religious order to undertake the education of the children, more especially of the girls—for their influence as the mothers of the next generation would be one day of far reaching importance.

In 1843 the Vicar Apostolic sailed for Europe to enlist the help without which the most devoted efforts of himself and his colleagues would be of little use. He looked in vain among the Benedictines and Franciscans in his own country, and then he came to Ireland. Here he gathered together a small but zealous band of six priests ready to accompany him to Mauritius. It had been suggested to him in England that he should apply for his teaching order to Mother Teresa Ball, who had recently established the Irish branch of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary founded by Mary Ward in the seventeenth century. Mother Ball had already sent nuns to India, and now in answer to Mgr. Collier's appeal she agreed to give him some. In May 1845 five choir nuns and three lay sisters left Rathfarnham Abbey with the words of their Superior ringing in their ears: " Go forth, my daughters, and let the fire of His Love inflame the world."

Accompanied by Mgr. Collier and the six Irish priests they reached Mauritius in September, the first religious order of women to land on the island. A few months later they opened a primary school for native girls and, the following year, a novitiate which was to lay the foundations for the future expansion of the Institute in Mauritius. In this novitiate was formed a Mauritian lady chosen by Mgr. Collier to be the foundress of the first Mauritian congregation, the Sisters of Notre Dame de Bon Secours. More schools were opened and steady progress was made, despite the fact that to the hardships that beset all pioneers were added storms, cyclones and epidemics. In the hurricane of 1892 the nuns lost their entire establishment at Port Louis—convent, schools, and chapel. These were rebuilt, and to-day there are six Loreto convents with a total of over 1,700 pupils on the island. Two years ago the centenary of the Institute in Mauritius was celebrated, when Archbishop Leen and other dignitaries of Church and State paid tribute to the invaluable work done for the people by the daughters of Loreto. That work goes on; and in June of this year five nuns, the first of their Order to leave Ireland since 1939, went out, bringing the total of Irish nuns in Mauritius to fifteen.

One of the most discouraging features of the new Vicariate was the condition, spiritual and material, of the coloured people, the enfranchised slaves who had been given their liberty but no assistance in using it well. In addition to Indians, Arabs, and Chinese there were great numbers of negroes, victims of the " black ivory " trade who had been brought to

Mauritius from the coasts of Africa. " The negroes who form the bulk of the population are unbelievably ignorant, wretched, and corrupt," says a writer, himself of Creole origin, appealing for help to Père Libermann. " To worldly eyes nothing more low, more vile, more miserable than they ; and if we fail to find priests sufficiently imbued with the spirit of Our Lord to descend to their level and become all things to them, the salvation of their souls will not even be thought of."

A Peter Claver was needed to deal with such a situation, and in Père Jacques Laval—" The Apostle of the Blacks "—was found a second Peter Claver. Born in Normandy, he was a doctor before he entered St. Sulpice at the age of thirty-two. He became a curate in a small village near Louviers, where his name is still a living memory, but his heart was set on the missions and his manner of life was directed towards fitting himself by privation and hardship for such a career. He slept on the floor, ate barely what kept him alive, spent long hours in prayer, and gained the reputation among the people of the countryside of being a saint. In 1841 he joined the Institute of the Immaculate Heart of Mary just formed by Père Libermann for the conversion of the enfranchised negroes in the colonies, and which was destined to be absorbed later into the Congregation of the Holy Ghost. As the first missionary of his order Père Laval accompanied the Vicar Apostolic to Mauritius and, after a period spent in learning the local dialect, obtained permission to devote himself entirely to the negroes. Until his death twenty-three years later he lived and worked in surroundings that, humanly speaking, were repulsive in the extreme. He made his home in a tiny hut, shared the natives' food, and little by little overcame their hostility. " Before he was eighteen months in the island he had instructed, baptised, confessed and prepared for Confirmation five hundred adults who had once been slaves," wrote Mgr. Collier. " He is indefatigable, and I thank Providence that has given me a missionary beyond compare." One of the Fathers who later worked with Père Laval stated : " He is deeply loved by his people. They have a remarkable veneration for his virtues, and not without reason, for he is truly a man of God."

Such achievement was won only at the cost of superhuman activity, added to prayer and penance. He gives a glimpse of this interior life when he wrote to a young missionary : " I rose at four o'clock, and before the altar of my little church I used to spend two or three hours in mental prayer. It was there that the flame was kindled and that my heart was warmed." He realized the need for more missionaries, but the introduction of French priests into an English colony was full of difficulties, as he had good reason to know. The authorities had shown small sympathy for his work among the blacks, and the Protestant missionaries had put many obstacles in his way. But zeal overcame his prudence and he sent an urgent plea for help. It was given to him in the person of Père Collin

from the island of Reunion, but few could endure the rigours of life among the negroes and soon Père Laval was once more left alone. Later other missionaries were to join him, as well as the Sisters of the newly formed order of Bon Secours ; but for much of the time he worked single-handed. It seemed that Providence had ordained that he should accomplish the evangelisation of the blacks practically unaided.

In the midst of the difficulties that encompassed his own undertakings his all-embracing charity urged him to appeal to his flock on behalf of the victims of the Irish famine, then at its height. It was a case that can have meant little to the coloured peoples of an East African island, but Pére Laval painted such a vivid picture of the misery being experienced that they gave freely and generously to the subscription being made amongst the white community, and 55,000 francs were sent to Ireland.

When Père Laval came to Mauritius there was but a handful of churches ; in four years he caused to be erected more than fifty for the use of his converts, who reached the number of six thousand in 1846. Gradually the contempt and antagonism of the authorities were changed to respect and admiration as they recognized his influence among the natives. They came to regard him as a reformer, a dispenser of justice to the negro population, and would have made a hero of him had not his humility made him shun commendation. During the epidemics of cholera and smallpox that swept Mauritius in 1854 he worked from four in the morning till nine at night, nursing the sick, dressing their sores, and giving them spiritual aid and consolation. Later he recorded with tears that during that period he had baptised eight hundred adults and had five hundred marriages regularized.

" Work done for the poor is the work that one remembers best upon one's deathbed," Père Laval once wrote. " My poor people are waiting above to help me to Heaven." In 1864 he reached that Heaven. His death, on the Feast of St. Peter Claver, was publicly mourned throughout the island, and forty thousand people followed his coffin to the grave. A Mauritian paper expressed a universal sentiment when it wrote : " The life of Père Laval may be summed up in one word—he was a saint." In the many tributes paid him, from those of his Vicar Apostolic and his fellow-priests to those of Protestants and pagans the word " saint " is used again and again. The veneration shown his memory increases year by year ; every Thursday thousands, non-Catholics as well as Catholics, come to pray at his tomb. Numerous cures have been attributed to his intercession, and in 1893 an Informative Process was opened to inquire into the heroicity of his virtues.

When in 1916 the care of the Diocese was entrusted to the Holy Ghost Fathers, who had been working in the island since 1840, one of the first official acts of Mgr. Murphy, Bishop of Port Louis, was to get the Cause for the Beatification of Père Laval introduced at Rome. The Decree

introducing the Cause contained the following words : " In the island of Mauritius, which resembled an arid spiritual desert on his arrival, he laboured with untiring zeal and energy in the sacred ministry, having recourse even to his science and skill as a doctor : so that after triumphing over obstacles, dangers, and vexations of every kind it is estimated that he converted to the faith and to a Catholic way of life some 67,000 Blacks, who had but recently escaped from the rigours of slavery." England had given the coloured people their liberty, but it was a humble son of France who, in bringing the liberated slaves the Catholic Faith, taught them the true meaning of liberty. " His own people have canonised Père Laval. It is for Rome to pronounce the definition," wrote a Mauritian paper in 1905. Not only Mauritius but the whole Catholic world will rejoice when the Norman curé is raised to the altars of the Church.

In 1925 Mgr. Leen succeeded Mgr. Murphy as Bishop of Port Louis and eight years later was raised by the Holy See to the dignity of Archbishop. The consecration of yet another Irishman, Right Rev. Dr. Daniel Liston, C.S.Sp. as Coadjutor Bishop, took place in October of this year and coincided with the celebrations that marked the centenary of the Diocese of Port Louis.

To-day in Mauritius there are 150,000 Catholics out of a population of 400,000. They are a zealous, charitable, intensely religious people, whose faith is shown in their actions. There are fifty priests—Holy Ghost Fathers, Jesuits, and secular—of whom nineteen are Mauritians and thirteen Irish. The de la Salle Brothers and the Loreto nuns, the Filles de Marie, and the Bon Secours Sisters are in charge of the schools, and there is a Diocesan Seminary under the care of the Holy Ghost Fathers, which is also a secondary school. And so the future of the Church in Mauritius looks bright.

CHARLOTTE M. KELLY

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF IRISHMEN IN FRANCE

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

Part XXII

WARD, THOMAS, soldier. Born at Dublin in 1749 he went to the Irish College at Paris for his education. After the completion of his studies, he entered the French army and, while still a young officer, accompanied the French expeditionary force to America to assist in the American War of Independence. After the outbreak of the Revolution on his return to France, he remained loyal to his adopted country. In 1792 he had reached the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the Army of the North, and he fought with distinction through the early stages of the war against monarchic Europe under Dumouriez. His valour and efficiency, especially in the engagement at Rechain, brought him promotion to the rank of general of brigade. While in Paris in November 1792 he was present, with other Franco-Irish officers and some notable Irish patriots, at the famous banquet in White's Hotel from which congratulations were sent to the National Convention on the brilliant French victories on the battle-field. He was again in Paris in May of the following year and was involved in the bitter struggle going on there between the Jacobin and Girondist parties. On the 24th of that month Thomas Paine, a deputy of the National Convention, wrote to that body and described a conversation between Marat and General Ward, in which Marat's views " seemed so frightful to the Irishman that he paid little heed to them and thought their realisation undesirable". Marat taunted Ward with not being a Frenchman, and the latter replied that Marat, being Swiss, was not one either. In October 1793, when the loyalty of many valiant officers in the French army was suspect, General Ward, like several of his compatriots (Arthur Dillon, O'Moran, Kilmaine &c.), was arrested. With his servant John Malone, a native of Limerick, he was conveyed to the prison of the Carmes in Paris. A nominal charge of attempting to escape soon afterwards was brought against them, and they were arraigned before the Revolutionary Tribunal on 23 July 1794. Found guilty of " conspiring against the unity and indivisibility of the Republic ", they were guillotined on the evening of their trial.

WARE, HUGH, soldier. Born near Rathcoffey, Co. Kildare, in 1774. He belonged to the same family as Sir James Ware the Irish antiquary. A member of the United Irish organisation he fought gallantly during the Insurrection of 1798. He was captured, imprisoned for three years and released in 1802 on condition of perpetual banishment. Going to France he joined the Irish Legion and had a brilliant military career in

the French service till the fall of Napoleon. In various European countries, during the campaigns from 1803 to 1815, he showed striking valour and outstanding military talent. In Spain especially he earned a high reputation at the siege of Astorga in 1810; and later in the same year at Ciudad Rodrigo he was appointed by the Duke of Abrantes to the command of a bataillon d'élite, chosen from the Irish Legion to act at the advanced posts during the siege of that place. He showed such efficiency on the occasion that he was promoted to the rank of chef de bataillon.

After the Russian campaign of 1812 the scene of Ware's activities was in Germany. He assisted at the French victories at Bautzen and Gros Warchen in 1813, and he was created a Knight of the Legion of Honour by Napoleon. In the same year at the battle of Lowenberg, when the colonel of the Irish regiment, General Lawless, had his leg fractured by a cannon ball, Ware took his place as commander and was himself wounded. This did not prevent him from fighting gallantly a few days later at Goldberg, where he had his horse killed under him. Later still he took part in the defence of Antwerp, and on 14 January 1814 he made a successful sortie on the British troops at the head of a thousand men. After the fall of Napoleon he retired from active service with the rank of colonel and, like so many other Irish officers, settled at Tours. He died in that city on 5 March 1846.

WARREN, EDWARD, soldier. Born at Bellaghmoon, Co. Kildare, on 12 May 1666. Son of Edward Warren of Swords, Co. Dublin, by Anne Kennedy. He fought through the Jacobite War in Ireland and, after the capitulation of Limerick in 1691, went to France where, as captain of the infantry regiment of Dublin, he distinguished himself in the campaign of the Palatinate in 1696. After the Peace of Ryswick in the following year he entered the service of the Duke of Lorraine as an engineer and settled at Nancy. In that town and in Pont-à-Mousson he established state factories for the manufacture of powder and saltpetre. Having furnished proofs of the high rank of his family in Ireland for six hundred years, he was by letters patent, dated 1726, admitted into the nobility of Lorraine, and he founded a family which is still represented there. He died at Nancy on 26 October 1733.

Warren's son and namesake, Edward, born in 1697, was educated at the Jesuit college of Nancy and subsequently at Paris. He followed his father's calling as a soldier and, like him too, specialised in military engineering and superintended the factories established at Nancy. He married Thérèse de Mageron, representative of a French noble family, by whom he had a son Henry who entered the Imperial army of Austria in the regiment commanded by Marshal de Lacy Browne. Henry died in 1781, leaving two sons (*See* following) who became officers of the Irish Brigade in France.

The present representative of the family in France, Count Edouard de Warren, holds the additional title of hereditary duke conferred on his father by the Holy See in 1900. His nephew, Raoul de Warren, has often visited Ireland and is author of *L'Irlande et ses Institutions politiques* (1928), which has been crowned by the Institut de France.

WARREN, JOHN BAPTIST, soldier. Great-grandson of preceding and son of Henry Warren. Born at Livourne on 21 September 1769. He was known in France, and especially in the literary circles of that country, as the Chevalier de Warren. At the age of thirteen he entered Dillon's Irish regiment as a cadet. In 1791, two years after the outbreak of the Revolution, when his corps was quartered at Lille, Warren and his brother (*See* following) with eight other Irish officers were reported as refusing to take the new form of oath to the state from which the king's name was omitted. They left France, entered the Austrian army in the regiment of Stuart commanded by their uncle, Francis Patrick Warren, and subsequently joined the French army of the Princes. John Baptist Warren returned to France after the Bourbon restoration, settled for some time in the paternal home at Nancy and later, holding the rank of lieutenant-colonel, resumed his career in the French army. In 1824 he became a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour and, being sent on an expedition to India, died at Pondicherry on 9 February 1830.

Colonel Warren enjoyed some repute as a poet. When the Dillon regiment, of which he was an officer, was in 1791 divided on the question of loyalty to the king or the Revolution, he wrote some verses of royalist sentiments, of which the following is typical :—

Les Irlandais, par leur vaillance,
Soutiens des Stuarts, des Bourbons,
Purent jadis cueillir en France
Plus d'un laurier sous les Dillons.

Fidèles à nos maîtres,
Reconnaissants de leurs bienfaits,
Sachons imiter nos ancêtres,
Amis, ne les quittons jamais.

WARREN, PATRICK, soldier. Brother of preceding. Born at Florence on 27 September 1767. Like his brother he entered Dillon's Irish regiment as a sub-lieutenant in 1782. After the outbreak of the Revolution he passed like him, too, into his uncle's regiment in the Austrian army. In 1794 he took service in the so-called Irish Brigade in the British service. In the new Dillon corps of that body he was sent to Jamaica, where he died of yellow fever on 9 September 1796.

WARREN, RICHARD, soldier. Cousin of preceding, he was son of John Warren of Corduff, near Castleknock, Co. Dublin, where he was born in 1705. Two of his brothers joined Lally's regiment of the Irish Brigade in France, while he himself settled at Marseilles as a merchant. His natural aptitude was, however, for a military career, and in 1744 he abandoned commerce and attached himself to his brother's corps as a volunteer without pay. In the following year he was transferred to Rothe's Irish regiment and, passionately devoted to the Jacobite cause, he embarked for Scotland to help in the Rising of the Forty-Five. In April 1746 he was sent to the French court at Versailles on a mission to urge the despatch of reinforcements to the help of Prince Charles Edward. On arriving at Versailles Louis XIV conferred on him the rank of colonel and made him a Knight of Saint Louis. The news of the defeat at Culloden reached Paris soon afterwards, and the Prince became a hunted fugitive in the Scottish highlands. Warren had a further interview with the French king, and he was commissioned to proceed with two frigates to Scotland to rescue the Prince. After undergoing many perils, the Irish officer succeeded in his enterprise and brought Prince Charles safely to France.

James III conferred the title of baron on Warren, who resumed his career in the French army. He became aide-de-camp to Marshal Saxe, and in 1760 he was promoted to the rank of maréchal-de-camp. During the Seven Years War he took a conspicuous part in defending the north-western coast of France against a threatened English invasion. In 1761 English forces swept in and took possession of the island of Belleisle. In the following year peace was established between France and England, and Warren represented the French king at the negotiations which led to the evacuation of the island. He was so successful in that delicate work that he was made governor of Belleisle and the neighbouring islands—a post which he held till his death there on 21 June 1775.

Some years ago Colonel Warren's letters and papers were discovered by M. Leon Lallement in the departmental archives of Morbihan in Brittany. They were published by him in an interesting volume.

WATERS, GEORGE, banker. Son of John Waters of Newcastle West, Co. Limerick, by Elizabeth, daughter of Stephen Woulfe of Tiernaclane, Co. Clare. (The original home of the Waters family was at Macroom, Co. Cork). George Waters left Ireland for France in the Jacobite emigration of 1691 and became a functionary of the palace of James II at Saint Germain-en-Laye. In the early eighteenth century he founded at Paris a bank, which was largely patronised by the expatriated Irish Jacobites. (Throughout the eighteenth century many exiled Irishmen were bankers in France—the Cantillons, Quains, Woulfes, Darcys, Arthurs &c.). Waters became the confidential agent and banker of the exiled Stuart royal family. His house in Paris and that of his son who succeeded him (*See* following)

were centres for Jacobite activities; and they, with the help of officers of the Irish Brigade, largely contributed to finance the Rising of the '45. The Waters alone advanced 180,000 livres to aid that enterprise. On the eve of his departure, Prince Charles Edward wrote to Edgar, the secretary of James III: "I owe old Waters 60,000 livres, part of which went to payment of my debts last Winter, which the French court did not think fit to complete. Young Waters has advanced me 120,000 livres and promised to pay several other things which I have referred to him." After the failure of the enterprise Prince Charles, on his return to France, underwent many vicissitudes of fortune, and in February 1752 George Waters refused to advance any more money to him. But his house at Paris always remained a refuge for the Prince even when his fortunes were at their lowest.

George Waters died in 1752 in the French capital. By his cousin Mary Waters of Macroom (whom he married under dispensation) he was the father of George John Waters (*See* following).

Waters, George John, banker. Son of preceding. Born on 4 November 1705 at his grandfather's home in Macroom, Co. Cork, his mother having come from Paris for his birth. He became a partner with his father in Paris, upon whose death in 1752 he succeeded to the proprietorship of the bank in that city. Although refusing to advance any further money to Prince Charles after the failure of the Scottish insurrection, young Waters, as he was known, remained loyal to the Prince when he was deserted by many of his followers.

By his wife, Elizabeth Franklin, George John Waters had a son who entered the French army, became a colonel of infantry and was ennobled by Louis XVI as Count Waters. The Count married Mary, sister of Count James Rice (*See* Rice, James), and assisted the latter in his plans for the rescue of Marie Antoinette during the Revolution.

Whyte, James Francis Xavier (Chevalier), soldier. Born at Dublin in 1730 he emigrated to France, where he followed a military career. He entered the Soubise Volunteers as a cornet, and afterwards joined the Irish Brigade in which he became a captain of Lally's regiment. He suffered a mental breakdown in 1781 and, at the instance of his family, was confined in a house of detention at Vincennes. Three years later he was transferred to the Bastille and, in March 1789, was legally deprived of civil rights by his relatives when his property was transferred to his daughters. When the Bastille was stormed on 14 July 1789 six prisoners, of whom Whyte was one, were found within it. In the evening he was led out in triumph by the excited populace and feted through the thronged streets. When released, he is said to have inquired for Louis XV and to have declared himself "majeur de l'immensité". An eye-witness of

the day's events describes him as " a little feeble old man who exhibited an appearance of childishness and fatuity, tottering as he walked and his countenance exhibiting little more than the smile of an idiot." A sympathetic citizen gave the unhappy man shelter for the night, but he pillaged the house of his benefactor, and on the following day he was transferred to the lunatic asylum of Charenton where the remainder of his life was spent.

WOGAN, SIR CHARLES, soldier. Born in 1684. Belonging to the old Catholic family of his name long settled at Rathcoffey, Co. Kildare, he was the second son of Patrick Wogan and Anne Gaydon. A zealous Jacobite he took part in the abortive insurrection in the north of England in 1715 in favour of James III. Taken prisoner and charged with high treason, he escaped before his trial to France. In that country he became an officer in the regiment of his kinsman, Colonel Arthur Dillon (*See* DILLON, ARTHUR). In 1718 he was deputed by James III to select for him a wife among the Catholic princesses of Europe. Having chosen Princess Clementina, grand-daughter of the late king of Poland, he succeeded, with the aid of three fellow-officers of Dillon's regiment, in rescuing her from the castle of Innsbruck where she was guarded and bringing her to Rome where she married James. The latter created him a knight-baronet for his services. The romantic story of the adventure was told by Wogan in his " Memoires sur l'entreprise d'Inspruck ".

Wogan left the French for the Spanish service, in which he had a distinguished career in the war against the Moors. In 1725 he married a widowed lady, Mrs. O'Driscoll, who had a post in the Spanish court and by whom he had a son James who succeeded to his father's title. Some of Sir Charles Wogan's letters to his friend Colonel Richard Warren (*See* WARREN, RICHARD) appear in the volume of the latter's " Correspondance " and are very critical of the French court for its failure to support the Jacobite cause. After his adventurous life Wogan died at Barcelona on 21 July 1754. For some years he carried on a correspondence with Dean Swift, in which he mentions some interesting facts regarding the Irish in France. One letter, dated February 1733, states, for example, that during the previous years more than 120,000 Irishmen were killed in the service of that country. There is a portrait of Wogan in the National Portrait Gallery, Dublin.

WOGAN, NICHOLAS, soldier. Brother of preceding, he was born on 13 March 1700 in Co. Kildare. He took part like his brother in the attempted insurrection of 1715 in the north of England. Made prisoner he was found guilty of high treason, but pardoned on account of his youth. He went to France and was naturalised as a French subject in March 1724. He entered Berwick's Irish regiment, fought through the War of the

Austrian Succession and lost an arm at the battle of Fontenoy in 1745. This did not prevent him from going to Scotland in the following year to help in the '45. On returning to France he resumed his military career in the French service, was created a Chevalier of Saint Louis and, on retiring from active military life, received a pension. He died at Paris in 1770. There is a portrait of him in Malahide Castle, Co. Dublin—his daughter and heiress married John Talbot of the House of Malahide.

The Rathcoffey line of the Wogan family was continued in France in the person of Nicholas Wogan's nephew, Sir Francis, son of his younger brother Patrick. Sir Francis was baptised at Clane, Co. Kildare, and, after going to France, became an officer of the Irish Brigade, in which he distinguished himself at the battle of Lauffelt in 1747. He married Mademoiselle du Chastel of a French noble family and was father of Baron Francis Wogan, who was an officer of Dillon's regiment. The last representative of the family, Baron Tanneguy de Wogan, died in Paris in 1906.

RICHARD HAYES

THE RUSSIAN IDEA*

BY CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS, M.P.

IT has been a standing mystery to all thinkers from Karl Marx onwards why the Russians should have adopted Marxianism. To Marx Communism was the next phase of society which must succeed capitalism, and therefore he did not expect that his gospel would have any especial message to a culture which had not yet advanced to the capitalist stage. He thought that Russia would be the last country in Europe to go Communist; and, even when the Communist revolution was achieved in Moscow in 1917, it was not in the least in Lenin's mind, as we can learn from his letters, that Moscow should be more than a resting place for the headquarters of world Communism. The hope was that with German defeat it would be possible to establish Communism in Germany, and its headquarters would then be transferred from Moscow to Berlin.

Indeed the more one studies the details, the more clear it is that the whole Marxian theory was not so much wrong as irrelevant to Russian conditions. Why then did Russia have a Marxian revolution? The collapse of the Czarist regime and Kerensky's failure may have made a revolution inevitable, and to-day we have almost slipped into the assumption that, if there is a revolution, it must inevitably be a Communist revolution. But clearly there was no inevitability about the revolution taking a Communist form.

M. Berdyaev's brilliant study of the Russian idea makes it clear that it was not Marx's economics at all but his religion which made the Russian revolution Communist. It is a commonplace of criticism that, while Marx gives some tolerably

*_The Russian Idea_. By N. Berdyaev. London: Geoffrey Bles. 1947. 18s.

cogent reasons why capitalism must pass away, he gives no serious reason at all why Communism should take its place. The reasonable thing to believe on the Marxian analysis is that, if class has been the inevitable law of human society, then the old class system would be succeeded by a new class system. The only reason why Marx believed in a new dispensation was not an economic reason at all, but the memory of generations of pious Jewish ancestors from whom he had inherited an apocalyptic faith in the coming of Messiah. Rejecting his ancestral religion, Marx nevertheless illegitimately retained its promises in this materialistic form.

Now Christianity also has its apocalyptic faith. The Christian is compelled to believe not only that Christ came two thousand years ago but also that He will come again. We of the West tend to concentrate predominantly on the story of the past. Our faith is predominantly a historical faith, and the expectation of the future coming plays but little part in our thoughts. But the Russians are an intensely unhistorical people. They have no Roman tradition. Russia is, as Spengler truly said, ' an apocalyptic revolt against antiquity '. As a consequence Russian Christianity has always been enormously more apocalyptic than the Christianity of the West. All the sects who played so notable a part in the religious life of nineteenth-century Russia were all confidently expecting the second coming of Christ. It was the apocalyptic much more than the economic element in Marx which made it acceptable to the Russian people.

It may of course seem a paradox that a religious hope should lead to the establishment of an irreligious regime. But the issue is not as simple as that. We are often told—and truly—that Communism has about it more of the marks of a religious than a political creed. So it has in its Russian form. It had no such trait in Marx, and it has little of it among Communism's Western devotees to-day. But there has always been, as Dostoievsky noted, a quasi-religious character about Russian atheism that we but rarely find in the West. ' Russians do not merely become atheists ; they invariably believe in atheism as though it were a new religion,' he makes Prince Myshkin say in the *Idiot*. The enemy of religion in the West is the anti-clerical who attacks the Church because he accuses her of being the enemy of progress. The Russian attack on religion is by far more fundamental than that. The Russian is obsessed with the problem of suffering. How can an Omnipotent Being have created a world in which suffering is permitted ? And those who are unable to accept the Christian answer answer the problem by a defiance of God. The Russian atheist does not so much reject God as indict Him. Lenin, for instance, however much he may have attempted to rationalise his faith by persuading himself that he was attacking religion only for its evil economic reasons, was clearly in reality attacking it for far deeper reasons. He attacked obscure sectaries who could in no way be considered supporters of the capitalist system. He said that a good priest was even more evil than a bad priest. His hatred was not for the effects of religion but for religion itself—for God.

There is, as M. Berdyaev well brings out, another related element in the Russian character, also necessary for the understanding of the Russian idea. The Russians are not only an apocalyptic, they are also a Messianic people. Long before Communism or Marx were ever heard of, it was possible to find among the Russians the belief that theirs was a Messianic nation, destined to rescue the West from the complexities and corruptions of its life. In its cruder form this belief found its expression in Imperialism—in demands for Constantinople or for a warm-water port, in the proclamation of Moscow as ' the third Rome '. But the conventional Imperialism was but a much cruder expression of a deeper mood. In such a Czar as Alexander I crude Imperialism and this strange pseudo-mysticism were oddly mixed. In Russian literature we find the pure idea. To the Slavophils the West

was indeed corrupt, but there was nothing much to be done about it. In their view Peter the Great had played a satanic role in moving the capital to St. Petersburg. They preached—with very little justification in history—a myth of a golden age which was supposed to have existed when the Czars were still in Moscow and to which Russia, freeing herself from all contamination with the West, must return if she would live. But writers like Dostoievsky carried the argument to a pure positive stage. Russia's role was not to be a merely negative one. Having purified herself, she was to be the deliverer of the nations. He spoke of ' the whole of humanity rising again and renewed by Russian thought alone, perhaps by the Russian God and Christ.'

Of course in Dostoievsky's philosophy it was not with a revolutionary gospel that Russia was to deliver the nations, but with exactly the opposite. In his novel, the *Possessed*, he had shown how the revolutionary creed must inevitably lead to an appalling and inhuman tyranny. In the *Brothers Karamazov*, in the Story of the Grand Inquisitor, which Ivan Karamazov tells, he sketches exactly the same sort of tyranny which he alleges to exist in fifteenth-century Seville under the Inquisition. Only in the Spanish scene Christ appears and is rebuked by the Inquisitor for His gospel of freedom.

Dostoievsky was of course very anti-Catholic, and his main quarrel with the Church was that, as he alleged, it had turned the Church into a State. It had imposed a discipline, not to say a tyranny, where Christ had preached freedom.

It goes without saying that it would not be very difficult to criticise these Russian ideas. But it is more important perhaps, in the first instance at any rate, to understand them. If we understand them, we understand that the Marxian economics are a comparatively minor aspect of the present Russian picture. We can understand how it is possible to move rapidly away from Marxian economics, as the present regime seems to be doing, without sensibly weakening it. For the regime is built upon firmer foundations within the Russian soul than the economic, and certain practical consequences surely follow from that.

To whatever measures the statesmen of other Powers may be driven in self-defence, it surely follows that it would be no solution of the Russian people merely to overthrow the present regime with arms, even supposing that it were possible to do so. Regimes, however unlovely, are but expressions of some deep mood in the soul of a nation. Change and conversion must be very gradual ; if we suppress them by force, we generally get something of the same sort only far worse in its place. We overthrew the rule of the Kaiser in Germany. We thought it a tyranny, but we only got the far worse tyranny of Hitler in its place. To-day we would stand amazed could we find anything on the Continent so liberal and gentle as the Germany of Wilhelm II. So too, beyond doubt, if we overthrew Stalin we should only get something worse in its place, and for the rest of the world to unite against Russia only strengthens in the Russians that Messianic complex which is the main danger. Yet what alternative has the rest of the world ? It is no easy question, for the Russians leave us little alternative. Nevertheless the only hopeful line of policy is clearly to wean the Russians from their Messianic complex by treating them as other men, by making as low as possible the barrier between them and other men—and to persuade them from their false adventist to a true adventist faith—to persuade them that, though there may be a Second Coming in the promises of God, that promise was not fulfilled in the Bolshevik revolution of 1917.

CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS

REVIEWS

Apologetics

MIRACLES. A preliminary study. By C. S. Lewis. London: Geoffrey Bles. 1947. 10s. 6d.

"La doctrine discerne le miracle, et le miracle discerne la doctrine." Pascal's dictum is one of his many sacrifices of soundness to neatness. The intolerably obvious "vicious circle" is meant to stimulate examination. Has it a tenable sense? In Pascal's context, it has not. He is speaking of Christian doctrine, which is dominated by a system of truths which human reason alone could never attain. Therefore the saneness or sublimity of the doctrine, in its supernatural elements, cannot be invoked to lend credibility to its concomitant miracles. A distinction is necessary. The Christian system also embodies all natural truths necessary to salvation. These can be discerned as true by the light of natural reason. Then, if miracles occur in the context of the proclamation of such truth, they may be assumed to proceed from the author of all truth. Thus authentic miracles are readily distinguishable e.g. from the weird and futile phenomena said to be associated with Spiritism, or from the freaks of "second sight"—where verifiable—which have no moral or religious significance. The second member of Pascal's dictum then takes on a satisfactory sense. Once a marvel has been established as a divine effect, it becomes a valid criterion of doctrine otherwise impenetrable. The "human" truth of the miracle founds the "divine" truth of the doctrine. Therefore: the doctrine, in so far as it is accessible to human reason, discerns the miracle, and then the miracle discerns the doctrine, in so far as this is inaccessible to human reason.

Mr. Lewis's book on miracles takes precisely the truths impervious to demonstration as the basis for demonstrating that the Gospel miracles are, to say the least, "not intrinsically improbable". He tries to show that the doctrine of the Incarnation is so plausible that the fact of the Incarnation is "highly probable". "The difficulty which we felt in the mere idea of the Supernatural descending into the Natural is apparently non-existent," he thinks, once he has demonstrated (no difficult task, but ably and freshly done) the descent of a spiritual principle, the soul, into every man. The confusion between the spiritual (soul) and the supernatural (miracles, grace, etc.) is regrettable, but may be benignly regarded as a matter of terminology. But the confusion between Incarnation and union of soul and body is inexcusable and spoils the main object of the book, which is to make "the Grand Miracle" the guarantee of the others. No amount of (slightly rhetorical) evocations of "patterns of Descent and Re-ascending" throughout Nature can give analogies for a truth which has not even been adequately stated. To treat the Incarnation as a sublime thing or comprehensive key, at this stage of the argument, is an illusion. We do not yet know that it is possible or true; much less that it is a sublime truth. However, if one is prepared to prescind from the fallacies underlying Mr. Lewis's effort to prove "the fitness and credibility" of the "central miracle" the rest of the book can be a valuable confirmation of what one knows, for other reasons, to be true.

One of the many excellent parts of the book is the demolition of materialism. Mr. Lewis rightly sees that the possibility of miracles in general depends on the existence of a God "who has a care for His own." He has, in view of a modern audience, to prove that the changing material process of nature is not a sufficient ground for its own existence—much less for thought and free-will. This is well done. As for miracles: the absolute determinism of nature is excluded, since the human spirit can interfere. *A fortiori*, the supreme Spirit can interfere, and therefore nature is never safe from invasion from above—which will not, of course, be arbitrary.

Here Mr. Lewis leaves only to be desired a clearer proof of the existence of God, and one which would not leave it an open question whether God is the creator of everything or not. " I do not maintain that God's creation of Nature can be proved as rigorously as God's existence, but it seems to me overwhelmingly probable " (p. 42). But if God is not certainly Creator, neither is He certainly cause and author and Lord of Nature—and therefore, not certainly God at all. His existence is not certainly proved. Nature re-asserts independence, and miracles may come from anywhere. Throughout the book, Mr. Lewis has a disconcerting tendency to destroy, in a moment's scepticism or illogicality, truths which he has earnestly and elegantly built up. Is it because, having taken on the role of shocking the bourgeois rationalist, he cannot help playing the *enfant terrible* when he is inside the Cathedral of truth?

For instance, Hume argues from " firm and unalterable experience " to the regularity of nature and therefore to the improbability of miracle. Hence the famous conclusion: " It is always more probable that the witnesses were lying or mistaken than that a miracle occurred." Father Pesch's *Compendium Theologiae* analyses the fundamental defect in Hume's position. Mr. Lewis points out another, that Hume assumes what has to be proved; that there is " uniform experience " against miracles. But unfortunately he goes on to retort that no universally valid laws can be derived from particular experiences: and that, consequently, we cannot *know* that the sun will rise to-morrow without the *explicit* invocation of a Lawgiver. " Admit God, and with Him the risk of a few miracles, and I in return (says the theologian) will ratify your faith in uniformity as regards the overwhelming majority of events." Two things may be noted here. One, that Mr. Lewis holds our assurance of the uniformity of nature is not scientific or philosophical; it is a feeling, a guess—"faith". But then there is no route to the existence of God. Laws must be recognised as facts before the implied existence of a Lawgiver can be deduced as a fact. If the human mind is incapable of certainty as to natural laws, it is incapable of certainty as to the Lawgiver. Secondly, Mr. Lewis seems to betray here a fundamentally " Protestant " mind, which pervades the book. He distrusts reason ultimately, and constantly falls back on faith.

Mr. Lewis begins his book by saying: " Our senses are not infallible. If anything extraordinary seems to have happened, we can always say we have been victims of illusion." But if intelligence cannot sift, check and compare the evidence of the senses, where does he suppose it is valid? If not in the region of experience, perhaps in the region of the transcendant? Again he writes: " If immediate experience cannot prove or disprove the miraculous, still less can history do so." Presumably faith (induced by such arguments as Mr. Lewis brings forward for the quasi-necessity of the Incarnation?) is to supply for the impotence of experience and testimony.—Later, he is brilliant and trenchant against objections drawn from the " anthropomorphism " of the Christian concept of God as Father and King. Then he goes on to derive all that is positive in that concept exclusively from " the intuition of great prophets and saints ". By natural reason, proceeding (he asserts) by a series of negations, " we reach at last a mere zero and worship a nonentity". It is only in the " devotional life we touch something concrete".—But if human reason can engender no positive concepts of God, where does it get the concepts to express what " faith " communicates? The intellectual content of faith would then be degraded to imagery and metaphor. Mr. Lewis likes these words, in fact. And we are at the stage where creeds become mere symbols of an untranslatable religious experience. They are " valuable " as long as they stimulate devotion. They are not true in the sense of representing, in unchangeable meaning, a definite reality.

The logical conclusion is that the Christian revelation is not final or authoritative. Such statements as " he that believeth not shall be condemned " may have been adequate for one stage of religious experience, but are not to be taken seriously for

all time. And Mr. Lewis states the conclusion, though he apparently does not see whence it comes: "It may be that the Power which rules our species is at this moment carrying out a daring experiment. Could it be intended that the whole mass of the people should now move forward and occupy the heights which were once reserved only for the sages?" In other words, the "faith once delivered to the saints" is not meant to be accepted on the word of "fore-ordained witnesses" duly authorised. He envisages, like a good Protestant, the golden age of "every man his own Pope". Each man is to labour at the fitness of the Incarnation for himself and, when he has proved it "by abstruse reasoning," he is then to accept it. That of course undermines the very necessity of revelation, which is given because men, in fact, cannot "quickly, easily and certainly" reason out a sufficient body of even natural religious truth for themselves. Very few have the leisure and equipment of an Oxford don. As for the mass of the people moving forward to such necessary conditions for research and speculation, the possibility, at the moment, is remote. When miracle ceases to be regarded as the criterion of revelation, revelation ceases to be authoritative. The Christian religion is undermined, for there Christ speaks "as one having authority".

A final defect in Mr. Lewis's approach, and a philosophical one, must be remarked. He wishes to make philosophical (not to mention theological) inquiry the necessary prelude to the historical examination of miracle. If so, as has been said, miracle is no help to the masses, since such philosophy is beyond them. That revolts all religious feeling and contradicts the facts of religious history. Mr. Lewis's mistake is to assume that the historical fact is unacceptable until its adequate intelligibility has been demonstrated. That is an error as old as the Eleatics. To know with certainty that Achilles can pass the tortoise, it is not necessary to have read Aristotle and grasped his solution of Zeno's objection: that Achilles must first cross the infinitude of parts in the continuum. *Solvitur ambulando* and *contra factum non valet argumentum*. Facts may need to be explained, but it is the initial certainty of the fact which stimulates and directs inquiry. Similarly, it is not necessary to appreciate all the theological implications of the Incarnation in order to accept the fact of the Resurrection. It is necessary of course to approach with a good mind, in the sense at least of wishing for goodness. Sincerity is needed, to exclude prejudice and inert agnosticism. Mr. Lewis has done much to lay the foundations for a good and sincere examination of the Testimony of the Twelve.

KEVIN SMYTH

BIOGRAPHY

CATHERINE SAINT OF SIENA. By Michael de la Bedoyere. London: Hollis & Carter. 1947. 12s. 6d.

THIS year, if the traditional account of St. Catherine's life is correct, brings round the sixth centenary of her birth in Monna Lapa's house at Siena. Mr. Michael de la Bedoyere has set himself to tell the story of that life, so far as possible in the Saint's own words by copious citations from the wonderful collection of her letters in the *Epistolario*. That a Catholic publicist who has so often himself challenged, and encouraged others to challenge, clerical conservatism and self-complacency should have something vigorous to say on behalf of Catherine's bold challenge to the Church of her day, need surprise no one. There are indeed one or two pages in the Epilogue, which Mr. de la Bedoyere has added to his biography, which read like a wistful *Apologia pro Vita Sua*. That is all to the good. There never yet was written a readable biography, whether of saint or sinner, which was not inspired by some personal interest, whether of dislike or admiration or critical doubt. This latest

biography of Saint Catherine is most certainly a readable " Life of Saint ". Alice Curtayne gave us a biography in which skilful reconstruction of the Tuscan and Roman and French backgrounds to Catherine's life tended to obscure her own most vivid and lovable personality. Mr. de la Bedoyere goes straight to the heart of her apostolate, and is ready to take a great deal of historical background for granted. The two biographies, though written by two great lovers of the Saint, could in fact hardly be more unlike ; and this new study has all the marks of a book that has been planned and written in the storm and stress of our troubled post-war world. Hitler and Lenin and Mussolini are never very far from the author's thoughts—and, we may add, Pius XI and Pius XII and the whole College of Cardinals.

A modern student of Catherine's life has one advantage over such old-fashioned biographers as Mother Augusta Theodosia Drane, whose somewhat long-winded narrative did service for so many years. M. Robert Fawtier, a most readable and most critical French scholar, who has spent long years in a detailed analysis of the literary and oral sources of Catherine's life, has published two scholarly though over-critical volumes which have plainly given Mr. de la Bedoyere some headaches as well as some fresh stimulus. I remember well my own first acquaintance with those volumes, and the half-reluctant pleasure with which I allowed myself to get dragged deeper and deeper into all the controversy about the authenticity and nature of Catherine's *Epistolario* and the trustworthiness of the classic lives by Raymond of Capua and Thomas Caffarini. Like Mr. de la Bedoyere, I found it impossible to agree with the French scholar's too destructive criticism ; like him, I was forced to admit that we are never very sure of our ground when we abandon the authentic and self-revealing evidence of the Saint's own letters. This new interpretation of Catherine's life will, I think, win general confidence by reason of the courage with which the author has allowed miracles and other legendary episodes, for which authentic confirmation is not easily to be had, to sink into the background so that the reader's attention may be concentrated on the glowing eloquence with which Catherine herself pleads the cause of the great mission which was the absorbing interest of her active life.

Yet no student of this great mystic's writings can be wholly satisfied with the external activity of her public life ; and Mr. de la Bedoyere is quite prepared to admit that much of her public policy—her passionate pleading, for example, on behalf of that *Passagio* or Crusade which she urged on the Pope and on all the great men and women of her day as a sovereign cure for spiritual sloth and corruption—was in fact mistaken. Her enthusiasm for the Roman Pope, whether he be Urban V or Gregory XI or Urban VI, is over-powering in its simplicity and sincerity ; yet Catherine was undoubtedly blinding herself, and was eager to blind others, to hard facts that a more dispassionate observer could not fail to note and remember. That is the true dilemma of her life : her instinctive sureness of vision where the Faith or the Church (that " Spouse of Christ " for whom she pleads with such unfailing ardour) or the authority of the Holy Father himself are at stake, and her almost wilfully personal attitude to the political problems of her day. When some of her oldest friends at Siena—among them that English student and hermit, William Flete, once a master of Cambridge University and now for long years a familiar figure in the Siena that she knew from childhood—refused to answer her summons and leave the hermitage of Lecceto for the whirlpool of life in Rome under Urban VI, I feel that more could be said for their hesitations and doubts than is here suggested. Yet I doubt whether Catherine herself ever wrote a more wonderful letter than that glowing appeal on behalf of a charity that is strong enough to set our neighbour's peril above the joys of contemplative life, which she despatched from Rome to Siena in one last supreme effort to bring her friend and former director, the English hermit-friar of Lecceto, to her side in the first crisis of the Schism.

Here and there, inevitably, some thought occurs of a view or judgment that might perhaps be altered in the light of the Saint's own evidence or of contemporary witness. The reader will find plenty of reminders in this book that the Dominican tradition of Santa Caterina needs careful checking at every point. Even the Blessed Raymond of Capua himself, Master General of the Order of Friars Preachers and personal confessor of the Saint, is not always a wholly trustworthy witness, as M. Fawtier and others have proved. And I remember my own growing sense of an omission which is perhaps to be explained by the predominantly Dominican nature of our literary sources. Contemporary evidence from Siena suggests that the Friars Hermits of St. Augustine at Lecceto, including Fra Giovanni Tantucci and the Englishman William Flete, stood very much closer to Catherine in the early years of her mystical life than the conventional biographies would lead us to believe. Here, as in other matters that touch the Saint's religious life, it is well to remember that the Dominican influence was strong, not merely in the two first biographies by Raymond of Capua and Caffarini, but in the famous episcopal court of inquiry into Catherine's orthodoxy and sanctity which was held at Venice more than thirty years after her death.

However, these are matters of less importance. The essential fact is that Catherine was an amazingly vivid personality, in whom the power of Christ's grace shines forth as in few others, even of the high centuries of Catholic European life. God gave her, rude and unlettered though she was, an astonishingly masculine grasp of theological truth and a power of eloquent expression, often in metaphors that pierce through conventional thought to the very marrow of truth, such as few writers of any age or any cause have had at their command. Here is a volume in which you will get the best, or much of the best, that is to be found in the *Epistolario*. Read it, and I feel sure that you will agree with the author that this modern world of ours would be the better for a woman of Catherine's high courage, simple all-embracing charity and utter humility. Read these letters, even in translation, and you will feel, as others (including M. Fawtier himself) have felt, that you are listening to words that fall from the lips of one who was in truth the Bride of Christ.

A. G.

IRISH MEN OF LEARNING. Studies by Father Paul Walsh. Edited by Colm O Lochlainn. Dublin: The Sign of the Three Candles. 1947. [8] + 311 pp. 21s. net.

"AFTER I had printed *The O Cléirigh Family of Tír Conaill* in 1938," writes the editor of these valuable studies of Irish Men of Learning, "Father Paul agreed to collect his other studies of the kind; and he had three essays in hand when the Lord called him . . . Two were new, those on the learned families of Mac an Bhaird and Ó Cuirnín, the other was a recension of *The Learned Family of O Duigenan*, an article which had first appeared in 1921. All these then I have completed by making careful use of his material." Father Walsh was an unusually diligent investigator of the sources of early and medieval Irish history. He had a sound knowledge of the Irish language of all periods, was an accurate editor, and always verified what he had to say by consultation of the original texts. Historians are therefore under a debt of gratitude to Mr. O Lochlainn for publishing the hitherto unpublished material contained in this volume, and for making the article on the O Duigenans, and more than fifteen other articles and reviews, readily available in convenient form.

Father Walsh seldom attempted those general conclusions or convincing presentations of hitherto unperceived patterns which complete the historical process. His work is valuable above all by reason of the many facts concerning persons, genealogies, families, dates, political affiliations and political boundaries that it

has brought to light; and these studies of Irish Men of Learning are typical of his method. They will be constantly consulted by historians and editors anxious to know, let us say, what Tuileagna Ó Maelconaire meant when he cited the *Book of Cluain Plocáin* "in a contentious letter directed against the Four Masters," or how a reference to the Golden Sundays is to be used in tracing the history of the *Book of the Dun Cow*. Readers may at times differ from Father Walsh in his interpretation of some fact. On page 29, for instance, he identifies the "good dictators" of past time, whose lack in the second half of the seventeenth century is lamented by David O Duigenan,[1] with the shanachies who could recite Irish tales to scribes. Might they not, with greater probability, be identified with dictators who sat beside a scribe reading out what was in the basic manuscript that was being transcribed? Again (p. 30) Father Walsh takes it that verses used as *probationes pennae* by the same David were actually composed by him: this is hardly justifiable. Likewise, though scribal entries quoted by Father Walsh do certainly suggest that David was permanently lame, frequent complaints of a hand tired from writing hardly justify describing him as "infirm both of hand and foot" (p. 25). Father Walsh, however, always faithfully gives the evidence from which he draws such conclusions, and if the evidence is weak the reader may make his own correction or reservation.

Some of the facts collected by Father Walsh in the course of his wide reading and discussed by him in this volume lead to important conclusions. His study of the O Duigenan family, for instance, when it first appeared, convinced many that the *Annals of Connacht*, which in the eighteenth century were in the possession of an O Duigenan, had in fact been transcribed by three O Duigenan scribes. Mr. Freeman, who has recently edited these Annals for the Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies, is strangely unwilling (pp. xii–xiv) to accept this view. It is well therefore to have Father Walsh's arguments made readily available for readers in the present book (pp. 6, 23, 54).

Irish Men of Learning, though the general reader will find much in it to interest him, is above all a book of reference for the research worker. The helpfulness of such a book depends largely on its index. The editor, who is also the publisher, therefore deserves praise for the thorough way in which the tedious work of indexing has been carried out. Moreover he has given us a volume which might well serve as a model of printing and binding for all future publications of the kind.

G. M.

THE STORY OF A FAMILY. The Home of the Little Flower. By Rev. S. J. Piat, O.F.M. Translated by the Benedictines of Stanbrook. Dublin: M. H. Gill. 1947. 17s. 6d.

No better recommendation of this book could be found than the words of the Bishop of Lisieux to the author: "I am convinced that this book will do much good by setting before its many readers this vivid portrayal of a Christian marriage . . . I believe that a success comparable to that of the saint's autobiography will reward your labours, and that immense good will result from this publication."

It is safe to say that around no saint, in so short a time after her death, has grown up so rich a bibliography as around Thérèse Martin—commonly though, perhaps, unhappily known as the Little Flower. We say unhappily, as the epithet suggests a certain idea of softness. No canonised saint has ascended the Mount of Beatitudes in soft garments. St. Thérèse is not an exception. This book, which is charmingly written and well translated, puts her in her proper setting. She was of a middle-class family. The father was a watchmaker, and the mother an expert maker of Point d'Alençon lace. Both parents worked hard at their trades to support a numerous family.

[1] R.I.A. Ms. B iv 1, 144a 26.

There is nothing sensational in the story—unless, indeed, it be deemed sensational in a modern pleasure-questing world to find a family governed entirely by three principles: God's supreme rights, faith in His providence, a trustful acquiescence in His will. For such was the Martin family. Apart from a few of the opening pages, of which the military significance may be of interest to a Frenchman, we do not think that there are any dull pages in the book. Above all it creates an atmosphere. In these days when home life is beginning to have for young people less significance; when home tends to become more and more a place to which one retires after a round of pleasure, the Martin family and their story will throw vividly into relief what a Christian home may be and what true happiness may be found there. In those days there were no cinemas, there were no motor cars, the pleasures of the home were simple, but they were all coloured by love, mutual understanding between parents and children; and so there was happiness, the real music of the heart within, not a mere passing thrill from some stimulus without. Perhaps the best tribute, if an unconscious one, is the following passage from a letter of Madame to her brother: "It is not always high wages that assure the attachment of servants. They must feel that they are liked; we must show them marks of kindness and not be too stiff with them. When people are fundamentally good, we may be sure that they will serve us with attachment and thoroughness. You know I have a quick temper, yet all the maids I have had liked me, and I keep them as long as I wish. The one I have at present would be ill if she had to go away. I am certain that if someone were to offer her 200 francs more, she would not leave us" (p. 145).

The Martin's were not without their problems, including a "problem child," Léonie. The sympathetic and delicate handling of Léonie, until the problem was solved, is in itself a headline for psychiatrists. Perhaps the value of the book is that there is little to pick out in any page revealing circumstances and problems that might not occur in any family. The daily items are commonplace, but the spirit of a generous husband and of a still more generous wife handling them is not commonplace. It rises above the ordinary just because the strength comes from heaven, not from earth.

The French title of the book which we know as "The Life of the Little Flower" was more expressive: "L'Histoire d'une Ame" ("The Story of a Soul"). This book is its complement and, we think, a necessary complement. It will make us understand better this young Saint, who has so rapidly captured the popular imagination. It will do more. It will teach a world longing for peace, which can only come from true love, how an ideal home can beget it. G.B.

HORACE WALPOLE. By R. W. Ketton-Creamer. London: Faber & Faber. 21s.

TIME can make of a man an heroic myth or a caricature. In the one there is far more, in the other far less than the truth. If it is true that the traditional view of Walpole is a caricature, it is perhaps no less true that, although a caricature exaggerates, yet by its emphasis it does indicate outstanding traits.

Walpole has come down to us through the years as an elegant viper, an "idle place-man," a dilettante in the arts, a haphazard antiquarian. Was he really no more than that? In his excellent biography, first published in 1940, Mr. Ketton-Creamer re-opens the case for Walpole. He does not injure his exposition by partisanship, but bases on most careful research an urbane and balanced statement of fact. His moderation exacts even from those readers who find Walpole antipathetic an honest wish to weigh the evidence.

Mr. Ketton-Creamer believes that Walpole's reputation has most suffered through Macaulay's essay and through Walpole's connection with the Chatterton tragedy. No doubt this is so, but it is possible to dislike Walpole without having

read Macaulay's words and without believing that Walpole ill-treated Chatterton. Walpole had that one lack which we cannot forgive in our fellow-creatures—he lacked humanity. One may find in his behaviour and in his writings evidence that he loved two people : his mother (who died when he was twenty) and, by an extension of this feeling, his cousin Conway, who was his nearest relative on the maternal side.

Walpole was born into a privileged position. The son of the then Prime Minister, he had from the beginning prestige and fortune—and both without the necessity of any personal effort. Even after the death of his father, he was affluent—not merely through inheritance but also because he held a number of sinecure offices. These circumstances are significant only because they gave Walpole complete freedom to shape his life as he would. Since he was by nature frigid, self-sufficient, and a worshipper of social superiority, he remained so. Shelley, also secure in wealth and privilege, was ever in revolt against them. A comparison of Walpole and (much later) of Shelley at Eton is highly revealing. Shelley suffers intensely not because he does not play games, but because he is Shelley. Walpole (entirely unathletic) is complacently happy because he is Walpole. Walpole, the schoolboy, is the leader of a Quadruple Alliance, of which the other members (Thomas Grey is one) are the sons of middle-class and rather impecunious families. Mr. Ketton-Creamer is far too perceptive to ascribe this apparently unlikely association to a democratic spirit on the part of Walpole. It was, in fact, the same spirit which led Walpole first to take Grey on a two-years' Continental tour and then to quarrel with him in Italy. With regard to this unhappy affair one must take into consideration the self-condemnation of Walpole's account, written long years afterwards to Mason the biographer of Grey.

It is not easy to accept the view that Walpole was not harsh to Chatterton. It was not in Walpole's intellect to recognise a poet ; it was not in his heart to pity poverty. Therefore, when fate brought him in touch with genius in rags, his failure was all the greater because it was a double failure. The dabbler in antiques accepts the Rowley poems as genuine and writes in flattering terms to the sixteen year old boy. Then, when the forgery is revealed, the littérateur rends the penniless genius who, like the author of *Otranto*, felt it necessary to make a mystery of his authorship. How can Walpole's conduct be palliated by the fact that Chatterton, before his suicide, became " a shady youth " ? His shady period appears to have begun during those years of struggle in London which followed Walpole's rejection.

Walpole's relationship with the arts is most curious and interesting. If anything were needed to emphasise the essential oneness of man and artist, it would be found in his activities. Here again we see the predominance of his elegant code. The man of fashion considers it bad form to be, in any full or acknowledged sense, a writer. He must appear to achieve his effects only by a negligent carelessness. If possible he must avoid the popular breath by privately printing limited editions (Walpole had his own printing press). Since not every form of writing was suitable for a gentleman, it was most fortunate for Walpole that he was a brilliant letter-writer. It was characteristic of the man that he clearly recognised his particular talent, deliberately planned his range of subjects, chose his correspondents with reference to each particular field, and saw to it that his letters would be carefully preserved. Mr. Ketton-Creamer's treatment of Walpole as a letter-writer is beyond praise.

One would perhaps have welcomed a fuller consideration of Walpole as a novelist. The writing of novels was a plebeian pursuit. And yet Walpole was drawn towards fiction. Why ? It is a question worth answering. One may suggest that by the time he wrote *The Castle of Otranto* his life had become, in sort, a fiction. There is much food for thought in Walpole's Gothic craze. In this pseudo-medieval interest, it is true, he was merely following a contempory tendency. The Gothic cult became in time a cogent factor in the early Romantic Revival.

It was an effort to find in the past a release from the literary restrictions which now were felt to cramp the spirit. Was Walpole's Gothicism an effort at self-enlargement? One must doubt it. It seems rather to have been an attempt to escape the gap between him and the ordinary world around him. Walpole had an interest in the external world, his links with politics, his social circle, but it was not his world nevertheless. Fortunately he needed not to adapt himself to it. He could, on the contrary, fashion a world for himself in which he would be supreme arbiter. Hence Strawberry Hill. And one sees too, in his mania for collecting, an unending effort to fill his life with something. Within his stronghold the Gothic myth grows, invades his dreams, and he sets down on paper the events which he has imagined against the background of his manufactured setting. Delighted with the plaudits which greet the first edition, he emerges from the smokescreen in which he has veiled his identity. What has he achieved? His achievement has a double significance in the development of the novel. One could wish that Mr. Ketton-Cremer had not omitted to mention the element of the historical in this Gothic novel, or the reasons why, as a supernatural story, it fails.

Only in one particular does Mr. Ketton-Cremer advance for Walpole a claim which can in no way be substantiated. He says (p. 22): "He hated injustice and persecution and every sort of bigotry and intolerance." But surely one can find many examples of Walpole's injustice and bigotry. We know, and Mr. Ketton-Cremer specifically mentions (p. 60; p. 103 f.), that Walpole detested the Catholic Church. Mr. Ketton-Cremer explains this by saying that the Catholic Church and the Stuart cause were then inextricably linked. Let us turn therefore to one among many examples of Walpole's personal animosities. Walpole "was absolutely implacable towards any man whom he suspected of treachery against his father" (p. 125). Such a man was the contemporary Duke of Newcastle. Is it this hatred which, exercised retrospectively over an interval of more than a hundred years, impels Walpole to his vitriolic attack on that Duke and Duchess of Newcastle who lived during the Civil Wars and the Restoration? One remembers that, among innumerable insults, he jeered at this childless woman as "a fertile pedant". One remembers the corrosive criticism he directed against her *Life of the Duke*—a book "both good and rare," for which, says Lamb, "no binding is too good, no casket rich enough, no casing sufficiently durable to honour and to keep safe such a jewel". Still, even if Walpole had not been prejudiced, one must believe that he was by nature incapable of understanding any depth of love or suffering or beauty. With such limitations inherent in his subject, the biographer is all the more to be congratulated on his achievement.

B. G. MacCarthy

Classics

THUCYDIDES. By John H. Finley, Jr. Cambridge (Massachusetts): Harvard University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press. 18s. net. 1947.

As is the case with all the great writers of Greece, Thucydides has a large and growing modern literature all to himself. His unfinished history of the Peloponnesian war is a document of wonderful power and vitality, one of the most interesting and enduring narratives ever devoted to the recital of human actions. Few historians have possessed his marvellous gift of transporting his readers into a world not their own and making them feel at home in it and excited by its passions. Partly because of this profoundly moving quality and partly because of its very incompleteness, his work presents a remarkable series of complicated problems, many of them still

awaiting final solution. The lack of a full modern commentary in English perhaps adds something to this element of fascination. At any rate most of the books written on Thucydides in the last fifty years, while in many cases brilliant and suggestive, must be described as comparative failures owing to a tendency towards one-sidedness and even oddity which has been a mark of much modern Thucydidean study.

To this perhaps sweeping indictment Mr. Finley's work is a most welcome exception. It is solid, based on a close study both of the text and of modern interpretations, and at the same time written with ease and vivacity. Its author is not the champion of any one-sided theory and does not profess to have found a hitherto unknown key to the Thucydidean riddle. He discusses each problem as it arises, poses the right questions and offers answers which if not always entirely satisfactory have at any rate high validity. Thus his book is likely to last a long time as by far the best and most readable introduction to its subject. Longer and much more searching than Bury's famous chapter in *Ancient Greek Historians*, it will be found to have similar qualities of solidity and perspicacity.

The book is divided into eight chapters, of which the first pair deal with the life of Thucydides and his political and intellectual background, the succeeding four with the plan and method of his work and its successive phases, and the last two with his style and thought. Mr. Finley's achievement may be judged even from his opening chapter. The problems arising from the family connexions and upbringing of Thucydides have, strangely, only in recent years begun to engage the attention of students. They were first properly formulated by E. Cavaignac in 1924, and brought to the attention of English scholars by H. T. Wade-Gery in an article entitled " Thucydides the Son of Melesias " in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1932. It seems in effect from the scarcely questionable testimony of Plutarch, reinforced by certain not inconsistent statements in the medieval *Lives*, that Thucydides was closely akin to the great aristocratic clan of the Philaidai, to which belonged Miltiades, Cimon, and the other Thucydides who was the life-long rival of Pericles.

Mr. Finley seems not to have seen a further contribution to this curious question which appeared in the *Mélanges Radet* (*Revue des Études Anciennes*) in 1940 from the pen of Georges Mathieu. This scholar, on a fresh consideration of the evidence, comes to the rather startling conclusion that Thucydides must actually have been the grandson of Miltiades and nephew of Cimon. If this conclusion be acceptable—and there are quite strong grounds for it—then the question of the historian's whole attitude to Pericles and his régime must be judged in a new light. Mr. Finley has the great merit of facing this question, but I hardly think he poses it with sufficient sharpness or gives an entirely satisfactory answer to it. A special and valuable contribution of his own to it is his argument that Thucydides must have been born round 460, when Pericles had just come into power. He does not, however, emphasise sufficiently, in my opinion, the relation of Pericles in his earliest phase to the great radical of an older generation, Themistocles, which relation must surely have intensified Pericles's conflict with Cimon ; nor does he take an entirely just view of Cleon, who was the true successor of Pericles. In this last respect, indeed, he only follows the general trend of modern authorities, who unduly widen the gulf between Cleon and his predecessor—and so, in my view, darken counsel.

The great paradox in connection with Thucydides is his apparent admiration for Pericles, for whom by birth and training he should have felt nothing but abhorrence. Mr. Finley's explanation of this paradox is that the historian must have grown " conservative " in his old age. On Mr. Finley's own showing, however—for he gives us a brilliant picture of the revolutionary fervour of Periclean democracy—this should have made Thucydides not less but more anti-Periclean. In fact, of course, in speaking with warm approval of the " reactionaries " of 411, Thucydides is merely expressing the view one might have expected from a man of his origin,

and his famous feud with Cleon must have had one of its roots at least in the same soil. The true explanation of the paradox is surely that it is more apparent than real. The History is nothing but a torso, a fact too often forgotten. There is every indication that it was carefully and artistically designed. If it had ever been completed, we should probably have in the figure of Alcibiades—whose outline we do possess—a masterly counterpart to Pericles, in which the latter statesman's undoubted genius would have been portrayed in grisly hues of excess and consequent degeneracy. Thucydides was no enthusiast for the Periclean form of democracy, but a realist of the Macchiavellian type, for whom nothing succeeds like success—or fails like failure. Mr. Finley has done great service to students by making easy for them the approach to one of the world's supreme artists and thinkers. M. T.

THE WISDOM OF SOPHOCLES. By J. T. Sheppard. (The Interpreter Series, edited by R. B. Henderson, Vol. V.) London: Allen and Unwin, 1947. 5s. net.

THIS is the second little book which the Provost of King's College, Cambridge, has contributed to a series dealing with such various subjects as the Book of Job, Totalitarianism, and Christianity and the Future Life. It has the same attractive qualities: eloquence, imagination, and an abundance of quotations rendered in vivid and often moving verse. Dr. Sheppard is a master of the art of presenting difficult literary questions in such a way as to bring them home with life and force to his readers. It is possible that other scholars will find points to criticise in his presentation of Sophocles. He seems, for example, to stress too strongly the poet's friendship and sympathy for Pericles, while admitting that Sophocles felt and expressed misgivings about the glories of Periclean Athens. Again, his interpretation of the *Oedipus* implies that Sophocles, like Euripides, was capable of questioning the wisdom, or the divinity, of Apollo; and he suggests, in accordance with a well-known but untenable heresy, that Electra is represented, in the tragedy of which she is the heroine, as feeling remorse for her mother's death. But these criticisms detract little from the value of his charming little introduction to the work of a supreme dramatist. T.

EDUCATION

SOME TASKS FOR EDUCATION. By Sir Richard Livingstone. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege: Oxford University Press. 1946. 5s.

THE educational world is under a great debt to Sir Richard Livingstone. Not only are his writings sound, clear and practical; but they are invested, both by their style and ideals, with a character of nobility peculiarly fitted to their subject and peculiarly needed in this age, when educational ideals are so often obscured by preoccupation with the problems of organisation and administration.

This latest book of his contains four lectures delivered in 1945 at the University of Toronto. They deal " with aspects of a single problem—how to improve ourselves and our society by education ". The first lecture discusses what exactly is meant by " modern education," the second the neglect of character training, the third deals with the problem of creating a civilised democracy, and the fourth emphasises the need, in such a democracy, of the virtues included in or allied with the virtue of truth.

Several of the ideas contained in these lectures have been the subject of other writings of Sir Richard Livingstone, but they are of such lasting value that they can well bear repetition, especially when enhanced by the wealth of illustration which the writer has at his command. Thus, in the first lecture, we find it laid down

that " the real modern problem is to humanize man, to show him the spiritual ideals without which neither happiness nor success are genuine or permanent," and that these ideals can only be found in the great literature of the world, " the revelation in religion, in poetry, in history itself, of human nature at its best ". This theme has recently been made familiar to a large audience by Sir Richard Livingstone's *Education for a World Adrift*, and thirty years ago he took it as one of the main arguments in a defence of the classics so convincing that one wonders how the question of their value can still be controverted.[1] Indeed, Sir Richard is only one in a long line of Oxford scholars who have defended this thesis. It was the main subject of debate in the famous controversy of the Oriel Fellows, Copleston and Davison, with the *Edinburgh* Reviewers at the beginning of the last century, and Newman thought Davison's exposition of it so perfect that, in his *University Discourses*, he contented himself with quoting from it.

What Sir Richard has to say on the need for character-training is sound enough, as far as it goes ; but when he outlines the practical steps to be taken, a certain inadequacy is sensed. The merits and defects of our own and other nations, of our own and other ages, are to be studied. The help of psychologists is to be sought. Stress is to be laid on education for citizenship. Institutions are to be encouraged which give opportunities to the young to live socially. High standards are to be aimed at. Sir Richard does, indeed, intimate that the aim of these efforts is " to take seriously the tremendous word of Christ, ' Be ye therefore perfect, as your Father in Heaven is perfect ' ". But the melancholy history of man's weakness makes it obvious that the " habitual vision of greatness," of which Sir Richard speaks in this and a former work, can never be complete, effective and lasting without the constant inspiration of the Holy Spirit and the constant image of the perfection of Christ.

In his final lecture, Sir Richard has some suggestive things to say about the virtue of truth. He points out that it is essential for the working of democracy, yet that the political machine of democratic states, the party system, tends to its frustration, since neither side can ever afford to concede the merits of its opponents. Research is its ally ; but dabbling in research is its enemy, for such dabbling develops the critical spirit without sufficient depth to distinguish between true criticism and shallow cynicism. The Catholic educationist will endorse Sir Richard Livingstone's statement that " Veracity, like other virtues, can only rest firmly on a foundation of absolute value."

F. MCGRATH

HISTORY

PARLIAMENTS AND COUNCILS OF MEDIEVAL IRELAND, Vol. I. Edited by H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles. Irish MSS. Commission. Dublin : Stationery Office. 1947. 25s.

FOR the past fifteen or twenty years the two editors of this volume have been concentrating their joint efforts on a detailed and accurate study of the administrative and judicial machinery which is so intimately connected with the origins of English parliamentary government. Their studies have brought them more than once into the field of Irish parliamentary administration, and here as elsewhere they have given more than one rude shock to preconceived notions of English and Irish parliamentary history. The Irish Manuscripts Commission is to be congratulated on its success in securing the collaboration of two such careful and erudite scholars for the publication of this first volume, which is to be followed by other supplementary volumes designed to throw light on the evolution of government by council

[1] *A Defence of Classical Education*. Macmillan : 1917.

and parliament in this country. Apart from the immediate results of their researches into the origins of the Anglo-Irish parliament, Mr. Richardson and Professor Sayles are doing a great service to us all by demonstrating to scholars here in Ireland how much material still lies hid in the archives of the Public Record Office in London—material that is literally indispensable for a proper understanding, not merely of the medieval Anglo-Irish March or Pale, but of a very much wider area of Irish life than is commonly believed.

Let me begin by citing a small group of documents which the two editors have relegated to an Appendix at the end of this volume. Few episodes in medieval history are better known or more dramatic than the clash between Boniface VIII on one side and the two kings of France and England, Philip the Fair and Edward I, on the other. The clash was caused primarily by financial needs. Yielding to the pressure of a money-shortage that was caused mainly by their own over-ambitious policies, Edward I and Philip mulcted the Church of such large sums within so few years that the protests of the clergy grew ever louder, and in the end the Pope himself intervened—dramatically but only in part effectively. Here in Ireland the pressure of the King's need for money was felt in the autumn of 1291. Mr. Richardson and Professor Sayles have discovered, among the miscellaneous collection known as " Ancient Correspondence " in the Record Office, the text of three letters which throw light on the reaction of the Irish clergy to the King's demands in this year for the grant of a clerical tenth to aid him in his effort to place his cousin, Charles of Salerno, on the throne of Naples. In the two southern provinces of Cashel and Dublin we learn from these letters that the archbishops (Stephen O Brogan and John de Sanford) were successful in obtaining the reluctant consent of their suffragans to this new impost, but that the lower clergy of each province stubbornly refused to pay what the King wanted. A letter from the Norman archbishop of Tuam, William Bermingham, reveals a more determined attitude on the part of the western province. Neither his suffragans (all of them Irishmen) nor the lower clergy of Connacht were willing to pay the tax, and they appealed from the King to Rome. The archbishop had hoped to send better news to the King, but the poverty of his own see was such that he ended by himself pleading extreme poverty and joining in the general refusal. These three letters were printed by Prynne almost three hundred years ago in the third volume of his *Records ;* but Irish historians had lost sight of these documents. It is good to have them here printed from the original texts. No letter has survived from the contemporary Primate, Nicholas Mac Maol Iosa ; but there can be no doubt that he also refused. He played what seems to have been a decisive part in organising a joint pledge of all the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, taken by them at Trim in September of this same year, with a view to presenting a more united front to the encroachments of lay power on their clerical rights and privileges. The document recording this joint pledge has survived in the volume now known as Primate Swayne's Register. The three letters here printed give us the background to this unusual episode in the history of the Irish Church.

The main body of this book is filled with a series of seventy-two documents selected from various collections in the London Record Office, to illustrate the development of parliaments and councils in Ireland during the fourteenth century ; and of another seventy-nine documents, here printed from the Exchequer Accounts in the same Office, in illustration of the administration of the Earl of Ormond during the years 1420–21. A full and most helpful Introduction gives the conclusions to which the two joint editors have come as a result of their detailed examination of these new materials. Interest will centre chiefly on their analysis of the evidence for the existence of parliaments, as distinct from great or general or afforced councils during this century. Here the editors find themselves, not for the first time, in disagreement with the conclusions of the late Miss M. V. Clarke, who stated a different view

in her paper on "William of Windsor in Ireland, 1369–76," which she read to the Royal Irish Academy in 1932. Miss Clarke was apt to view the gradual growth of medieval institutions from the view-point of personal and individual policy. She held, for example, that under the rule of William of Windsor "the Irish parliament acquired the shape, coherence and functions which it retained until the Reformation." She argued from the documents published by her in 1932 that "the doctrine of taxation by the consent of elected representatives, given in parliament," was accepted permanently here in Ireland during the period of William's rule; and she was anxious to bring these new constitutional developments into close relation with the enigmatical *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum* which she would assign to this same period. Mr. Richardson and Professor Sayles do not argue their own view at length in their Introduction to this volume, but are content to point out that many of the texts here published for the first time, and unknown to Miss Clarke, make it plain that the development was less definite and less clear-cut than is suggested by her theories. In their view the *Modus* is some twenty years later than the date argued by Miss Clarke; but they are more concerned to point out the curiously confused and uncertain status of parliament and council throughout the whole of the fourteenth century as revealed in these authentic contemporary documents.

A detailed analysis of this new evidence would take us too far, but one point may bring home the uncertainty of constitutional forms at this period. Few documents are better known to students of Irish history than the much-abused Statute of Kilkenny. Yet the very text of that "Statute" describes these articles as "ordinaunces et articles." The *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum*, differing here from contemporary English usage, lays it down as a rule that the legislation of a parliament is called a statute, whilst the legislation of a great council is called an ordinance. Yet it is certain that these "ordinances and articles" of Kilkenny were approved by a parliament, not a council. Again, the time-limit for summons to a parliament seems to have been by custom a minimum of forty days; a council could be summoned within three weeks, or even within as short a time as one week. But contemporary documents do not always correspond with these rules, and the *Modus* does not even mention this important fact. The editors seem to be fully justified in their conclusion that the slow growth of these various bodies was very much less clear-cut than the artificial description in the *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum* would suggest. Parliaments were not clearly differentiated from great or general councils until well on in the fifteenth century.

The election of members representative of the commons can be traced in a few of these documents, but for the most part there is no clear indication as to how the commons, when summoned to a council or parliament, secured their representation. A minor point, none the less of great interest for students of ecclesiastical history, is the first appearance of clerical proctors in this century. Another document printed in the Appendix contains the first mention of parliamentary rolls in Ireland; it belongs to the Hilary term of 25 Edward I (1297). The documents concerning the administration of Ormond in 1420–21 give us full details as to the parliament and great council held in 1420 and 1421, for the purpose of securing subsidies for Henry VI. Incidentally, we may be allowed here to congratulate Dr. R. J. Hayes on his success in securing the invaluable collection of Ormond Deeds, which have recently been acquired for the nation and are now safely lodged in the National Library at Kildare Street. Here is new encouragement for the valiant few who are striving to reduce Irish medieval history into some semblance of rational order and development. The promise of a second and larger volume of documents, selected from the mass of materials in the London Record Office and edited for the Irish MSS. Commission by Mr. Richardson and Professor Sayles, is a further stimulus to work and good ground for new hope.

A. G.

THE HISTORY OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH. By Jules Lebreton, S.J., and Jacques Zeiller. Translated from the French by Ernest C. Messenger, Ph.D. Volume Four. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1947. 25s. net.

THIS is the fourth and last volume of Dr. Messenger's great venture in translation. His four volumes now cover the first two of Messrs. Fliche and Martin's monumental *Histoire de l'Eglise*, of which eight volumes have already appeared in French. The present work surveys the whole of the third century. It begins with a long chapter on Origen, than which it is safe to say that nothing better will be found elsewhere. This and the succeeding five chapters are from the French of Father Lebreton, whose learning and skill in exposition are nowhere seen to greater advantage. From Origen he goes on to deal with the Apocrypha, Manichaeism, the Churches of Alexandria and Antioch in the third century, doctrinal controversies of the period, and finally literature under Diocletian.

In seven further chapters, packed with scholarship and written with charm, Professor Zeiller treats of the external organisation of the Church, the history of the Roman See in the period, the Christian life, and finally the last great persecution and the state of Christianity on the eve of the Constantinian peace. Not only professional scholars and teachers, but the general reader can derive great profit from this really splendid work. The translation, as in the previous volumes, is excellently done; and the return of peace, however austere, has permitted the use of better paper and larger type, so that the appearance of the book is now handsomely worthy of its contents.

M. T.

WAYFARERS IN MEDICINE. By William Doolin. London: William Heinemann. 1947. 21s.

THIS series of essays on varied phases of the history of medicine will have a wide welcome from members of the medical profession and from not a few outside it. The book was written, its author says, merely for entertainment after his day's work was done, and he modestly disclaims for it any pretence to scholarship or research. Almost every page, however, reveals Dr. Doolin's ripe learning, easy familiarity with the classics, ancient and modern, as well as an intimate knowledge of the development of medical science in its manifold branches throughout the centuries. And in almost every page, too, are seen an enthusiasm for his profession and an almost religious reverence for its traditions which must have made the writing of this book a labour of love.

The essays, marked by a keen critical sense and a style that gives the book distinction, cover wide ground. As Dr. Doolin traces the evolution of medicine through its successive phases in Egypt, Greece, Arabia and the West, most of the great leaders and pioneers pass through its pages—Galen, Vesalius, Paracelsus, Paré, Harvey, Pasteur, Lister. The theme of one of his most interesting essays is the status of medicine in imperial Rome where, he says, its practice was largely in the hands of ignorant charlatans. (Was it Pliny who declared, indeed, that the Roman people were for six hundred years without doctors?). Another essay of unusual interest gives a synopsis of a manuscript of a rare fourteenth-century book, the *Practica* of John of Aderne a soldier-surgeon, which was discovered five years ago in the library of the College of Surgeons in Dublin. It gives lucid glimpses into and pleasant comments on the state of surgery in his time in England and the Continent, and its author was rewarded by Edward II of England with a grant of land in Connacht for personal services to his majesty. Reading the biographical account of John of Aderne which Dr. Doolin gives, one is reminded of a fourteenth-century Irish

physician, William Ouhynounan, who was medical adviser to the third Edward of England and who does not come within the ambit of Dr. Doolin's survey. Little about him seems to be known beyond the fact that a royal writ of 1341 granted him for life the revenues of the fishweirs of Limerick. Perhaps Dr. Doolin may some time be able, out of his wealth of medical lore, to give us some details regarding him.

To medical and non-medical readers alike two essays on Cellini and Leonardo da Vinci and their relations to the medical science and practitioners of their time will specially appeal. The former, " bearded swashbuckler " and " prince of braggarts," speaks favourably, though at times with a malicious humour, of the doctors to whom he entrusted himself for his various ailments. And Dr. Doolin shows by various examples how Leonardo, the other Florentine, deserves the name of the Forerunner of modern anatomy—or rather of Vesalius the founder of modern anatomy—and how his speculations anticipated modern discoveries and ideas in medicine as in other branches of science.

Among the illustrations, drawn from great European art galleries, which embellish this book, is a portrait of Georges Mareschal (Marshall), first surgeon to Louis XIV. Son of an Irish Jacobite officer who gave his sword to France after the capitulation of Limerick in 1691, he became founder of the French Academy of Surgery. It is to be wished that Dr. Doolin told us more about him and that he had included in his survey some of the Irish physicians who rose to eminence on the continent. One thinks of Sir John Higgins, physician to Philip V of Spain, whom the Duc de Saint-Simon, acute critic of men and French ambassador at the Spanish court, describes in his *Mémoires* as " one of the best and most skilful physicians in Europe". One thinks too of John O'Dwyer of Cashel, graduate of Louvain and renowned in the Spanish Netherlands, whose *Querela Medica* challenged the medical practices of his time ; of Bernard O'Connor of Kerry, physician to the King of Poland and author of *Evangelicum Medici* and other scientific works ; of Niall O'Glacan of Donegal who filled the chair of physic at the university of Toulouse and later became royal physician and privy councillor at the court of France . . . In the closing essay of his book Dr. Doolin does indeed deal with the more notable Irish doctors of the nineteenth century who contributed to the advancement of medical science. In it he pays worthy tribute to Graves, Stokes, Corrigan, Wilde and those others who made the name of Dublin famous for a brief period in the medical world. That fine essay makes one hope that, though science knows no boundaries, Dr. Doolin may find leisure to give us a comprehensive history of Irish medicine. A solid achievement like the scholarly work under review does show that he possesses all the equipment, literary and professional, for such an undertaking.

Wayfarers in Medicine is fitly dedicated to Dr. T. P. C. Kirkpatrick, to whom, with his extensive knowledge of medical history always so generously bestowed, students of that history are so much indebted.

R. H.

ETHIOPIA. The Study of a Polity, 1540–1935. By David Mathew. London : Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1947. 15s.

ARCHBISHOP MATHEW has found a subject admirably adapted to his own historical outlook and aesthetic temperament. Abyssinia, as most of us still think of that half-legendary land which now again is known as Ethiopia, has a history that carries us back to the days of early Koptic Christianity—a doctrine that still bears witness to the Monophysite traditions of the Egyptian Church. Its Emperors, ruling their distant and secluded country from the Solomonic Throne (what memories the name evokes !), owe the enduring power of their rule to religious observances which have been for centuries associated with the predecessors of Menelik II or Haile Selassie.

To one who, like Archbishop Mathew, is quickly responsive to every appeal on behalf of religion or of the throne, this story of the Ethiopian Empire reads like some long-lost romance that has come true in our own day. There is, of course, another less romantic and very grimly realistic side to the history of Ethiopia's Emperors. Those who wish to get at facts that may explain what is so obviously controversial, and at times so repulsive, in Abyssinian history, will be disappointed in this new interpretation of ancient quarrels. Dr. Mathew begins his Foreword with the reminder that " it is my privilege to express my deep sense of indebtedness to His Imperial Majesty the Emperor Haile Selassie for the gracious permission to journey and study in the Ethiopian Empire " ; and the long list of Abyssinian dignitaries to whom he here expresses his personal gratitude reads like some litany of great names from Ethiopia's past : Their Imperial Highnesses the Crown Prince of Ethiopia and the Duke of Harar ; His Excellency the Governor of Tigrai and His Excellency the Minister of the Pen ; His Beatitude the Echeggi Gabre Giorgis and many others.

The book opens with a vivid and elaborately conceived account of the geography of that high plateau, with its surrounding mountains, the scene on which the story of so many centuries has been enacted. This is followed by an account, most useful for the modern reader to whom all this antique ritualism of Empire seems at first unreal, of the Solomonic Throne and of the religious worship that has been, from ancient to modern times, so closely intertwined with that throne's strange destiny. Two or three fascinating illustrations, taken from an unpublished seventeenth-century manuscript now at the Abbey of Cusquam, make the court-life of an older age seem once more vivid and real. But it is best perhaps to quote Archbishop Mathew's carefully chosen words : " The general mould of the religious life had come from Egypt in an archaic form, isolated, and in a sense Judaised. A filtered Byzantinism would seem to have entered later. Speaking metaphorically the anointing never seemed to dry upon the head of the ' Elect of God '. His reign was a perpetual coronation. The Emperor never moved without his thirteen consecrated tents and all the priest attendants."

Into this strangely remote and archaic world came, first the traders of Portugal, then the Jesuit missionaries, following on the pioneer mission of that Spanish Father Oviedo whom St. Ignatius himself sent out to be the first Patriarch of Ethiopia in communion with the See of Rome. The Jesuit mission, often interrupted and never lacking in picturesque, sometimes heroic episodes, ended in total failure. The expulsion of the Jesuits after the abdication (in 1632) of the Emperor Susenyos, whom they had converted six or seven years earlier, marks the end of this first missionary movement. The Jesuits had indeed done more than fail. They had so antagonised Ethiopian sentiment by their rigid insistence on Roman ritual and their lack of sympathy for the ancient feudal traditions of the land, that the memory of their effort and its failure has been a grievous handicap to later efforts. What was the cause of this exceptionally complete failure ? Was it the inability of Portuguese and Spanish priests to adapt themselves to strange, yet proud traditions of an earlier culture ? Was it sheer contempt for the Ethiopian way of life, as the Jesuits of that now distant generation saw it with their own eyes ? Or was it, as Dr. Mathew suggests, that men like Father Pedro Paez (the ablest and most successful of these Jesuit missionaries) " suffered from the disadvantages of their pragmatic and practical outlook, and from that unhistorical cast of mind which was a part of the Ignatian heritage " ? Some truth there is in this unfavourable judgment, which is repeated in another form : " It may be hazarded that it was the attempt to overturn the old Amharic semi-feudal concepts that made the Jesuits, and subsequently every Catholic priest, so hateful to the high lords in Abyssinia. Here again they were too *modern*, with their minds filled with Bellarmine."

Yet one cannot help reflecting that in other lands—in India, for example, where Robert Bellarmine's close kinsman, Robert de' Nobili, showed an astonishing genius for adapting his apostolate to traditional and native ways of life—the Ignatian inspiration worked to a very different result. What of China, where Matteo de Ricci was opening the way to other European missionaries by his sympathetic understanding of Chinese thought and language and of Mandarin learning? I find it hard to resist the conclusion that Archbishop Mathew, eager to find points of contact with a world that has hitherto been so sharply antagonistic to Catholic endeavour, has viewed the history of former Ethiopian greatness with a too kindly eye.

One thing is certain. He has written a most readable book, using with great skill various contemporary descriptions of Abyssinian life that have come down to us in the literary tradition. Here you may read extracts from Jesuit travellers such as Jerome Lobo and Emmanuel de Almeida in the early seventeenth century; from a French chemist, Dr. Charles-Jacques Poncet, who accompanied a French Jesuit to Abyssinia in the last two years of that same century; from a remarkable but not always trustworthy Scottish traveller, Mr. James Bruce of Kinnaird, who reached Gondar in 1769; from the first oddly incongruous pioneers of Anglo-Saxon exploitation in the early nineteenth century, Lord Valentia (who has left a mark of his own Kerry connections in the desert sandy rock Valentia Island near the Dahlak Archipelago) and his more adventurous companion Henry Salt; from Major Cornwallis Harris, who commanded an expedition to the Court of Shoa in 1841; from Walter Plowden and John Bell, who made their way to Abyssinia soon after this expedition and succeeded for a time in gaining the complete confidence of the Emperor Theodore, until in the end they fell from favour and were held prisoners in his distant capital; and from that astonishing punitive expedition which Sir Robert Napier (later Lord Napier of Magdala) led against Theodore's primitive and ill-organised empire in 1866.

The account of Theodore's rise to power, his relations with his English personal advisers and his disastrous end is told at greater length than any other episode in this romantic, though often sadly disjointed, history. It could hardly be otherwise, for the materials are frequently lacking where we need them most. Of modern history since 1866, the campaign of Adowa and the events leading up to Mussolini's grim campaign of vengeance are here told in some detail. However, Archbishop Mathew is not in a position to give his readers a satisfying explanation of that ultra-modern tragedy. Here as elsewhere he writes from the viewpoint of one who is eager to find points of sympathetic contact in the survival of ancient glories or ancient liturgical observances, and who is perhaps too willing to shut his eyes to the more painful but none the less true record of Abyssinian cruelties as revealed, for example, in the expansionist conquests of Menelik II. But we cannot have everything in one volume. Dr. Mathew will have the sympathy of us all in his manifest desire to win the confidence and goodwill of those who to-day are once more in control of the destinies of the many rival peoples whom fate has thrown together on that far-distant tableland.

A. G.

Studies in Poetry: German and English

A STUDY OF GOETHE. By Barber Fairley. Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Cumberlege. 1947. 15s.

Students of Goethe are familiar with Professor Barker Fairley's *Goethe as revealed in his Poetry* 1932 and possibly also with his paper on Goethe and Wordsworth read to the English Goethe Society in 1934 and printed in the publications of the Society for that year. The present work may be said to have grown out of those and

is a proof of what its author testifies to : that wherever, once interested, we touch this magnetic mind, we are started on a life's voyage—of discovery, as it were—to find in him and in his work " the common centre of experience " from which " the whole of his immediate production seems to radiate ". This radiation from centre to circumference is an image which Goethe uses in the abundant references to his mode of thinking and creating that we find in his conversations and elsewhere. It is what gives his work and gave his person in later years their peculiar character of wholeness—a unity of thought and emotion, of poetry and science, of nature and art, the achievement of which was the task of a long life of unremitting toil. How it was achieved, what dangers it ran in the process, what were the helps and what the hindrances to the synthesis that it implies—that, very briefly put, is the substance of this study able and interesting as everything from the hand of Professor Barker Fairley is.

This Toronto professor, one-time Head of the German department in Manchester University, is a Goethe lover—but discreet in the Rudolf Kassner sense of that (occasionally ill-used) word ; and discriminating, as one would expect from a scholar of his excellence. He is equipped with all the apparatus of scholarship and is familiar with the most significant trends of the vast literature which has grown up in Germany and elsewhere around the man whose remarkable personality made of his Weimar home in the first thirty years of the last century a place of pilgrimage not only for statesmen and poets and painters but also for men and women of liberal minds from every corner of the world. Such homage paid him in his lifetime was, in our time, as it were justified by the striking fact that, in 1918, when a defeated Germany was making an effort to put her house in order, Weimar, Goethe's local habitation, became the symbol for the new constitution and the new republic, the first meeting of the constituent assembly taking place there.

From the many trends of Goethe criticism Barker Fairley seems in this book—implicitly if not explicitly—to select a few with which he deals in his effort to interpret the peculiar genius of this great German. Naturally and obviously he dissociates himself from the outmoded, purely biographical approach with the justifiable comment that the biographers, while evoking the man, have failed to interpret his work. Biography in that sense is not intellectual history and, as Professor Fairley puts it, without the Works of Goethe there is no Goethe. What we get from this book is what its author calls an *inner* biography, using inner rather in the German than the usual English sense. The man is not divorced from the poet nor vice-versa ; that would be a sin against the organic whole which Goethe was for ever preaching and striving to practise. His person—in the full philosophical sense of that word—is preserved intact, with its reactions to environment recorded in output of every kind—scientific, philosophical and poetic—as well as in diaries, letters and conversations.

The author rejects once and for all the judgment of the school to which the late Professor Robertson of London belonged : that Weimar and Italy—both Classical Influences over against the Romanticism of the Storm and Stress, that strange amalgam of Ossian and Gothic architecture, Shakespeare and the Folk, Nature and lawless Art—are the symbols of a decline and fall of Goethe poetry which is nothing short of tragic. Far from endorsing this verdict Fairley accepts the Goethe of the Italian and post-Italian period with strict joy and as a great synthesis, assigning to the poet's ardent and consistent pursuit of the natural sciences in those periods a more essential fusing power than to either the pseudo-classical Weimar or classical Italy. His chapters devoted to the documentation of his thesis are not the least skilful or interesting of a skilful and interesting series of interpretative criticisms ; and while he sometimes seems to give with the one hand only to take back with the other, he appears, almost on the eve of the 200th anniversary of Goethe's birth, to have reached a measure of certainty in estimating what one might call the value of

the Goethe final achievement over against the original Goethe potential and in relating that value very definitely to Weimar, the Sciences and Italy ; the first and the third perhaps an accidental—but the second a vital factor in the achievement.

I have no intention, by going into detail, of coming between the Goethe student and the pleasure he is bound to derive from Professor Fairley's book. But I have to note the skilful weaving of fact and proof into the text of what is an argument—but what most pleasantly does not seem to be so. Delightful, for example, are the aperçus which every now and then bring novelty to many a well-worn page of Goethe. Not that I always agree with Professor Fairley's choice—of adjective, for example, when he makes a lightning pause beside an old favourite of mine, the *Mailied*. It does not seem to me to dance. I feel and see and hear the upward surge of the lark and the upward thrust of spring shoots ; nature's rhythms pulsing through this young god of poetry : neither am I sure that I agree with my author or perhaps with Simmel (as he seems to suggest in his Wordsworth-Goethe paper)—I have not got Simmel's *Goethe*, unfortunately, about the Goethe-Frau von Stein problem. I am perhaps too daring in thinking that I can harmonise *Iphigenie* and *Tasso* with what I would like to call the eternal Goethe. I saw Tasso (the name part) played in Weimar in 1932 by Raoul Aslan and, while the interpretation upset Professor Robertson, the sad critic of a classical Goethe, it delighted me with its Wertherism raised to the *n*-th power and so poeticised.

I hope Professor Fairley has seen Professor Günther Müller's recent edition, with Introduction and Notes, of Goethe's *Maximen und Reflektioners*—which, by a great stroke of luck, came to me on loan from a German student who arrived this year from Bonn. The Canadian professor would be pleased to see his synthesis of Goethe, poet, scientist and philosopher, finely endorsed by his German contemporary who has in the last ten years passed through a period that required support of every kind—intellectual and moral—to enable its victims to stand up against it. Not the least of these supports, we may believe—from the beautiful introduction to Prof. Müller's book—is that sense of order, of unity and of divine purpose which both professors find implicit, if not always equally explicit, in the works of this German to the ultimate evolution of whose wisdom and work this second Goethe book of Fairley is so finely devoted. I have enjoyed every minute spent in reading it. It has the sanity of its original.

MARY M. MACKEN

MILTON. By T. S. Eliot. Proceedings of the British Academy. London : Cumberlege. 1947. Pp. 19. 2s. 6d.

THE present reviewer attempted a few years ago (*Studies*, March 1943) to sum up the dispute that has long been raging about Milton. Mr. Eliot has at last felt impelled to declare himself. " No one ", he says " can correct an error with better authority than the person who has been held responsible for it "—a proposition which one might perhaps wish to pause over. Mr. Eliot goes on to say that he read and judged Milton as a practitioner, that is, as a working poet, who hails with delight the models that help him with his job and damns those that dishearten him and make his work difficult. Milton was remote and grand, and could not help poets who wanted to be colloquial and to use subjects and images related to the life of modern man ; therefore Milton was no good. The practitioner, of course, must be allowed plenty of licence in abuse ; it is delightful to hear him at it and is a good antidote to the excessive reverence of many academic critics. We do not mind when Keats in his letters talks of Shakespeare as " the fellow " who has all the tricks of the trade better than anybody else. But Mr. Eliot hardly let us know where we were. It looked more like the court than the workshop, and we seemed to see the literary judge in full robes rather than the shirt-sleeved practitioner.

Mr. Eliot would even have us think that the sort of critic we took him to be does not exist at all. It seems that there are only scholars, who are very limited people, and practitioners (not without their limitations also). " The scholar is more concerned with the understanding of the masterpiece in the environment of its author : with the world in which that author lived, the temper of his age, his intellectual formation, the books which he had read, and the influences which had moulded him. The practitioner is concerned less with the author than with the poem ; and with the poem in relation to his own age." This makes the practitioner the real critic, and allows the scholar only the field of preliminary study. But surely there are scholars capable of going beyond mere preliminary studies and of using those studies for an interpretation of the poem. Such scholars have a cultural function of the highest importance, and nobody else can perform it—certainly not the mere practitioner, ignorant and prejudiced as Mr. Eliot confesses him to be. The heritage of great poetry has other uses besides those to which the new poets may put it. But if Mr. Eliot leaves no room for the full critic, the man with both learning and taste, he leaves none for the common reader either.

Mr. Eliot goes on to say that, though his depreciation of Milton was right twenty-five years ago, it is now time to call a halt. Milton has come to be useful again. Mr. Murry was wrong to consider him as necessarily and at all times a constrictive influence. And Mr. Eliot confesses that he himself was wrong long ago in assuming that because a poet was no help he must be a hindrance. Some poets wrote badly in imitation of Milton in the eighteenth century, but it cannot be proved that they would have written better if Milton had never existed. Bad imitation should count against the imitator and not against the imitated. And if a poet must be blamed for doing something so well that nobody else can succeed with it after him, then Shakespeare deserves as harsh words as Milton ; if Milton made epic impossible for centuries, Shakespeare did the same for poetic drama. Nor is Milton any longer to be blamed for the famous " dissociation of sensibility " ; it was in the mind of the age and he could not escape it.

How is Milton to help poets today and tomorrow ? Mr. Eliot's answer is worth attending to, for he is still the leader of the poetical movement ; and here he ventures to foretell, and even in some degree to guide, its course for the next fifty years. There has been enough revolution, he says ; there should now be peace and a new classicism. Poetic diction and poetic conventions grow to be artificial ; they must be broken from time to time, and a fresh start must be made from reality and the spoken language. But this must be done only at long intervals. If poetry was always directly based on the spoken language it would fail in one of its functions, which is to refine language and to prevent its too rapid change, its deterioration. The course of poetry now should be to find new and more elaborate patterns of the diction established in the last twenty-five years. Milton can help, because he is a great model of elaboration, of extended verse structure, and of a personal art—the remotest possible from colloquial speech and current jargon.

Mr. Eliot does not seem to realise quite how much harm he and his followers had done, what blows they had struck in the cause of barbarism when they attacked the poet whom Arnold described as the great bulwark of culture in the Anglo-Saxon countries. Mr. Desmond MacCarthy, the essayist of the *Sunday Times*, has more care for the common reader and his culture. Therefore, writing on November 9th, Mr. MacCarthy hailed with pleasure and relief what he took to be Mr. Eliot's repentance and recantation, and styled the latter graceful and handsome. But the following Sunday Mr. Eliot told him he was mistaken. He had not retracted, only explained. He had wished to bring peace, and Mr. MacCarthy seemed to be celebrating a victory. Milton's champions, Mr. Eliot complains in his letter, have been too like aggressive and vindictive politicians ; when they have said their say

about Milton, they never fail to refer to Mr. Eliot himself and to have a passing smack at Dr. Leavis or Mr. Pound. Alas, Mr. Eliot hardly seems to seek peace " in the spirit of peace and on grounds purely pacific". Mr. MacCarthy had spoken of Professor Bush's recent book, an able and authoritative work which nobody writing on Milton could properly ignore. " I have not read the book by Professor Bush ", declares Mr. Eliot, " and I do not suppose that the sentences quoted by Mr. MacCarthy represent the best that Professor Bush has to offer." He then speaks of the " panoramic sneer " of the passage quoted by Mr. MacCarthy. Here is the passage :

> Apparently Mr. Eliot's critical asides, though potent, were not quite final, since the complete demolition of Milton required twenty-five pages from Mr. Leavis. However, the central fact was that the poetic world was not big enough to contain both Milton and Mr. Eliot, and Milton had to go. Whatever the motives of Mr. Eliot's camp-followers and others, his own sniping has been a kind of oblique—and quite needless—justification of his own poetry.

One might think that that was nothing worse than an intelligent anticipation of what Mr. Eliot was going to say in the lecture now before us. But let us look also at the passage, written in 1933 by Dr. Leavis, to which Mr. MacCarthy had quoted the above as a corrective :

> Milton's dislodgement, in the past decade, after his two centuries of predominance, was effected with remarkably little fuss. The irresistible argument was, of course, Mr. Eliot's creative achievement ; it gave his few critical asides—potent, it is true, by context—their finality, and made it unnecessary to elaborate a case.

The reader may decide for himself who does the sneering and whether or not the correction was justified. We seem to be near the end of the Milton controversy. Mr. Eliot has withdrawn his charges against Milton, and he has cut the ground from under the feet of his less temperate followers, though for the moment he does not like to be told he has.

J. J. H.

Politics

FROM LUTHER TO HITLER : The History of Fascist-Nazi Political Philosophy. By William Montgomery McGovern. London : Harrap. 1946. 21s. net. The sub-title of this large and well-printed book is already enough to date it. Scarcely anyone would this year think it worth his while to devote his time to an examination of Fascist-Nazi " philosophy ". In actual fact there is plenty of evidence in the book's own pages that it was composed while the war was still raging and Hitler and Mussolini still alive and threatening. To us at the present moment it already seems quite strange that Lenin and Stalin are never once mentioned, and Marx only seldom. In his early pages the author refers to the " childish " beliefs, hopes and aspirations which in the course of the First World War were summed up in the phrase " making Europe safe for democracy ". Yet a few paragraphs further on he himself indulges in aspirations which the lapse of no more than a year has caused to seem equally naive. Just as Wilson saw the First World War as a crusade against " Kaiserism " on behalf of democracy, so Professor McGovern here views the Second World War as a crusade of liberalism against the " Fascist-Nazi movement".

In writing thus Professor McGovern is not of course by any means unique. He merely shares the common Anglo-Saxon war-delusion, which Messrs. Molotov and Vyshynsky have lost no time in dispelling ; though it lingers still—more in England now than in America. There was no " Fascist-Nazi movement " ; the

alliance between Germany and Italy was not based on any common philosophy at all, but upon the rather fortuitous and short-lived coincidence between the policies of two very different tyrants ; and the victory over them of the Allies has no more brought about the triumph of " liberalism " than the victory of Wilson, Clemenceau and Lloyd-George brought about that of democracy.

All this may seem to point to the conclusion that Professor McGovern's book is without merit. Such a conclusion would be regrettable, for evidently much industry and good-will has gone into its making. Fortunately it is not necessary to judge it so drastically. Carefully used, it can be of much value to the student of political theory, who will find in it a full and often very interesting analysis of the main ideas of many important thinkers. What is to be regretted is the fact that so good a scholar has not employed his learning and industry to better advantage by working on a more reasonable and coherent plan. The student would be well advised to disregard his whole attempt at finding a philosophical origin for the " Fascist-Nazi movement," while having recourse to him for useful summaries of a series of ill-assorted doctrines.

Even if one were to admit the validity of his premiss, Professor McGovern has clearly not proceeded on any very logical scheme of selection or arrangement. In his Introduction, he defines liberalism as a combination of belief in democracy and insistence on individual rights. " Fascism " on the other hand he takes to consist in an alliance between autocracy and etatism. (The word " statism " he avoids for the curious reason that in America its primary meaning would have to be a belief in the doctrine of States' rights). These are tolerable as rough-working definitions, but their formulation seems to beg a multitude of questions. He makes an interesting and illuminating point when he suggests that liberalism cannot properly be identified with belief in " reform " or " progress". This is only true, he says, when the existing regime is dominated by autocracy or despotism. " When a country has a free and democratic government, and this government seems threatened by a drift towards autocracy and despotism, the true liberal is a conservative." It is presumably this very sound attitude which causes him to include in a single chapter Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Joseph de Maistre, Burke, and the American Federalists. " In Europe ", he says, " the conservative reaction produced merely the thundering declamations of De Maistre and Burke against the Revolution and all its works. In America, this reaction produced the Constitution." It is characteristic of the book's oddity that the section which deals at length with these topics should be headed " The Early Precursors of Fascism".

The next section, perhaps the most useful part of the book, analyses very fully the doctrines of Kant and his English disciples, Green and Carlyle ; the political philosophy of Fichte ; and the teaching of Hegel, who is of course the most influential exponent of authoritarian rule and the cult of the State in modern history. From these Professor McGovern passes to the nineteenth century Romantics, irrationalists and Darwinists—a rich and varied selection which includes Mazzini, Nietzsche, Bergson, Sorel and Pareto, and ends with Herbert Spencer, Gobineau and Houston Stewart Chamberlain. The fourth and final section analyses in separate chapters the " philosophies " of Fascism and Nazism. Altogether, the book may not unfairly be described as offering " fine, confused reading".

M. T.

THE CULT OF THE SUPERMAN. By Eric Russell Bentley. London : Robert Hale. 1947. 12s. 6d.

I DO not know if the jacket of this English book is meant to have a colour significance—Black, White, Red—or if its red and white stars are in any way contributory symbols ! It too is a book born of the times we live in, though perhaps more in the

sense in which the harvest is the product of the seed. Hitler's name, *the Hero with the folkish banner*, occurs. How should it not in a study of Nietzsche, Wagner, Spengler and Stefan George? So does Stalin's; how could it fail to do so in an examination of, among others, Bernard Shaw from the angle of the last two decades of our European experience? So does Mussolini's, whom an Italian contemporary identified as a sixth type—The Leader—to be added to Carlyle's five types of Hero and who undoubtedly had his worshippers in and out of his own country. The book under review is not a study of these supermen but of their heralds and prophets, Carlyle and Nietzsche, with Wagner and Bernard Shaw as a follow up in the evolution of Dictators, Fascist or Communist, while Spengler and Stefan George on German soil and D. H. Lawrence on English, are the heirs of Nietzsche—twentieth century Heroic Vitalists. Greatly to our comfort, Mr. Bentley adds to the four parts of his book dealing with these a fifth part on the nature of Heroic Vitalism and its consequences which are by now evident to all who have eyes to see. Part V is for me the *bonne bouche* of a bookfeast in which, once we nerve ourselves to face its pagan postulates, the courses are well served, the dishes seasoned and the cook a Soyer among chefs. Perhaps Mr. Bentley is too young to have heard of Soyer; but, if his excellent bibliographical Appendix is any indication, he will quickly find ways and means of identifying this culinary artist of a past generation.

Mr. Bentley tells us in a preface that the book was written already in 1940—when Vitalism, heroic and otherwise, looked like winning; in America it was published in 1944 as *Century of Hero Worship* when the *götzendämmerung* was casting grim shadows from West to East. Only this year has the volume made its appearance in England where administrators have had in the two years of occupation, ample opportunity to observe the ruins of the temples of the new gods. If among these administrators there were, perchance, a student of Nietzsche carrying for choice *Also sprach Zarathustra* in his pocket, how fitly, to his thinking, he might intone, with the tortured poet that Nietzsche was, the lines from *Das Lied der Sehnsucht* which I here venture to paraphrase in translating: "You, a wooer of truth! You are but a poet, a beast! a cunning, stealthy beast of prey! condemned to lie, lying knowingly, wilfully, lusting after prey! masked in gay colours, yourself a hollow mask! your own prey! . . . You are not set up, a god's janitor, at the temple's gates. Foe to all the images of truth, you are more at home in the wilderness than on the temple's steps! . . . Beast and Bird of Prey—Panther and Eagle—with your vision of man! destroying God in man; destroying man itself, poor sheep! outcast from all truth! only a Poet! only a Fool!

This is not the picture Mr. Bentley gives of the tragic genius to whom he quite justly accords more space in his book than to any of the other precursors of the supermen. For our author Nietzsche does not knowingly or wilfully lie, though he is, for him, more poet than philosopher, and Mr. Bentley even suggests—with truth—that, if Nietzsche's medium had been verse, he would be less likely to have so many "hard" critics. C. S. Lewis the sponsor of this book might be inclined to reckon its author among the "soft" members of that guild, in spite of the commendable efforts made to maintain a balance. Readers of German who read this book will be interested to note in the current number of *Die Neue Rundschau* a contribution by Thomas Mann on "Nietzsche's Philosophy in the light of our experience". The distinguished exile may, perhaps, have found time to read Mr. Bentley's interesting reactions to one who so profoundly affected the work of his own early and early-middle years. Mann's debt to Nietzsche is finely paid in this article which, defining with discreet delicacy the spheres of poetry, philosophy and religion, estimates the part which the popularizer, if not the creator, of the term Superman played in each. Mr. Bentley will, as outsider, be pleased that the German interpreter is at one with him in regarding Nietzsche as primarily poet and

theorist rather than philosopher and activist. Activist indeed neither the Basel Professor nor the Sils Maria solitary ever was. He seems thus disengaged from the mists and fogs of political propaganda, though not saved from political exploitation. He is set among those fateful stars guiding the destiny of so many poets and thinkers of our century in and out of Germany. He could even be somehow equated with that questionable modern *Ism*—Existentialism. Men like Heidegger and Jaspers derive from him no less than Mann and Stefan George in some at least of their phases. The tragedy of his mental derangement can alone free him from the consequences of a teaching and preaching to which in his lifetime no one listened. Of mockery and scorn of him there can be no question. He is rather the prototype of the tragic hero, inspiring pity and fear for him and for us whose *Antichrist* he was, infecting us with his madness.

It may seem from this review that Nietzsche is the book's only theme. He stands out ; almost equal space, however, has been given to Carlyle and there are interesting lights on Stefan George and Spengler, Lawrence and Shaw. The Scotchman, the Englishman and the Irishman have had—Shaw still has—repercussions on German Literature. The reverse is also the case. Goethe's name is mentioned more than once in these pages, and interesting studies could be made of the relation between Goethean and Nietzschean symbols. But the author's concern throughout is with forces, not sources—which is all to the good and to be welcomed. His book is magnificently written, and his English publisher has done well by him. There are practically no printer's errors ; and the illustrations, if familiar, are none the less interesting. A physiognomist might give us another study in interpretation based on them.

MARY M. MACKEN

THE REAL SOVIET RUSSIA. By David Dallin. London : Hollis and Carter. 1947. 18s.

THE title of Dr. Dallin's book may awaken hopes that will be disappointed. He himself is plainly aware of the vast problem that is implicit in the simple question : What is the real Soviet Russia ? The last words of his last chapter read as follows : " The course of the war, the price of victory, and the post-war situation in Russia constitute the prologue to great changes—greater changes than some are inclined to expect." And an earlier chapter on " The Red Army and the Secret Police " ends with similarly vague prophecies of the approaching doom of the M.V.D., " the incomparable, majestic, unique monolith resting upon inhumanity, slavery, abomination and death ". Dr. Dallin seems to think that this secret police will be " the first fortress which may fall as a consequence of the combined efforts of the army and the people, as soon as the first rays of spring begin to alter the rigorous landscape ". If he had facts to give us that might help us to lift the veil and get even a glimpse of " the real Soviet Russia " in all its human complexity and vast potentialities, he would have written a book for which many of us have long been waiting. But Dr. Dallin has been an exile from Soviet Russia for the past quarter of a century (he was a member of the Menshevist party in the first days of the Revolution) and he has had to content himself ever since with a careful and unremitting study of printed sources, official and unofficial, for his analysis of the Soviet system in action.

Few, perhaps none of the facts that can be found in these pages are new. The value of the book lies in Dr. Dallin's power of grouping his facts effectively in illustration of his analysis. The chapters on " The New Social Structure " of the Communist state and on the new upper classes as contrasted with the working classes and the peasants cover familiar ground. Yet they bring the essential facts into prominent relief, and effective use is made of diagrams and graphs to demonstrate the new

inequalities that have arisen in what was once hailed with enthusiasm as the classless state. The pyramidal structure of this new society, with its broad base of some ten per cent. of forced or slave labour and its apex of two to three per cent. of top officials and intellectuals, is contrasted with the pyramidal structure of Czarist Russia—with its apex reaching higher to the nobility and court, but lacking the tragically broad base of the new slave labourers. The nobility and the middle class, never more than three or four per cent. respectively of the whole social unit, have been eliminated ; but the peasants have been lowered in their status, whilst there has been a vast increase of state employees and of manual workers in the cities.

The most vivid chapters in this cold analysis are those in which Dr. Dallin strives to bring home to his readers the grim facts of slave labour in the concentration camps and penal camps now scattered all over the Soviet world. Once again, the facts are not new ; but they are here brought together and illustrated by startlingly vivid accounts of eye-witnesses who, by one lucky accident or another, have lived to escape and bear witness to the truth. Having read these appalling narratives of brutally callous exploitation, one has the uncomfortable feeling that we in this country are, and have been for too long, living in a fool's paradise. If these facts are true, some immense upheaval must one day be the result ; and the end to so much cruelty, as Dr. Dallin suggests, may well be nearer than we think. But wishful thinking is nowhere more mistaken than when we are dealing with a system so inhumanly ruthless and efficient as the Soviet penal system. Dr. Dallin's analysis of Soviet foreign policy, with his insistence on the fundamentally unchanged objectives of all Communist foreign policy, does little to allay our alarm. His conclusions are bound to be questioned ; only the event can show whether his analysis is right or wrong. But there can be no doubt at all as to the truth of most of the facts here brought to support his argument, for we all have had only too many causes for remembering the main facts of Soviet foreign policy in the past ten years. If Ireland is to-day one of the countries that the rulers of Soviet Russia obviously do not like, we have no reason to be ashamed of our condition. We have many faults of our own for which we may well do penance and promise true amendment. But a book such as Dr. Dallin's can only make us thankful that God's Providence and our own geographical position have spared us horrors with which Eastern and Central Europe are now only too familiar.

P. D.

PHILOSOPHY

DESIRE FOR GOD. By Patrick K. Bastable, M.A., Ph.D. London and Dublin : Burns Oates. 1947. 12s. 6d.

THE SPEAR OF GOLD. H. A. Reinhold Ed. London : Burns Oates. 1947. 16s.

ROUSSELOT founded one the most stimulating movements in modern philosophy by his doctrine that man has an innate desire of the beatific vision. In other words man is made for the beatific vision as for his connatural perfection. Maréchal developed his whole philosophy around this thesis. Fr. James gave it its most daring orthodox form in the only work of philosophy by an Irishman since Berkeley that has had a European fame. The thesis is not only attractive, but it seems to be borne out by alluring arguments. It is common Thomistic doctrine that man naturally desires God. But how can he naturally desire God without desiring to see Him? How can the natural desire stop short of a desire of perfect possession ? St. Thomas explicitly states that we have a natural desire of the beatific vision.

Dr. Bastable's book is a welcome recall to tradition. He gives a full analysis of the question and of the various opinions proposed for its solution. In dealing with Suarez's theory of active obediential power and the *lumen gloriae* it would have been

instructive if he had shown its logical coherence with the simultaneous concursus, just as the Thomistic doctrine of elevation by the *lumen gloriae* previous to the beatific vision is coherent with premotion. (We still need some thinker who will show how these two doctrines of concursus are themselves corollaries of the doctrines of the respective masters on the union of act and potency). But Dr. Bastable's exposition of the views of other philosophers is always adequate. His wide knowledge, thoroughly sifted, makes this an excellent book for all who wish to take up the study of the question down to its latest developments.

His own opinion is very clear. We have, he says with Ferrariensis, a natural desire to see God by our natural propensity to desire to know causes as perfectly as possible—especially the First Cause. But this is not an innate desire. It is elicited, conditional, and free. It is only a natural desire in the broad sense that nature is prone to it. St. Thomas was not using the term natural desire in its technical sense, else he would have contradicted other parts of his philosophy. (We are all a little uncomfortable here, for St. Thomas gives no hint that his use of the term is more technical in one place than in another). Thus we can say with the Church that man cannot attain naturally the beatific vision without holding the strange doctrine that he has in the strict sense a natural desire for it that cannot naturally be fulfilled.

But there is one point on which the present reviewer would differ from Dr. Bastable, and it leaves a difficulty not adequately answered by him. He asserts that the will as nature is not determined towards any object. This is true respecting the formal object which cannot be a determined thing. But respecting its end the will is determined not formally but virtually. Man must by his nature desire beatitude as his end. This beatitude is God in fact, though man does not know this except by reasoning. But (it can now be argued) this beatitude is also an infinite good, for the nature of the will is to desire more whatever finite good it has attained. Therefore, since mere abstract knowledge of God is a finite good, it is not the beatitude that man must desire by his nature.

Doubtless Dr. Bastable would reply that beatitude is possession of an infinite object, not necessarily perfect possession (which indeed is only possible for God Himself). If the will continues to desire more than abstract possession of God, its impulse is not natural but elicited. I have not found this difficulty thoroughly answered by Dr. Bastable, though I am certain he would not be stumped by it. And therefore, much as one favours his doctrine and admires his book as the only clear and orderly survey of the whole question, it is unlikely that this work will put an end to the controversy.

The Spear of God is also concerned with the desire of God. It is an anthology of quotations from the mystics and others who have shown insight into mysticism or its prolegomena. The quotations from Plotinus and other non-Christian religious writers do indeed suggest ideas like those of Rousselot. The plan of the book is not easy to discern, as the meanings of the poetical titles at the heads of the sections are often esoteric. But one can dip into this book at any place and find stirring and interesting things. There is much variety. In one place one steps straight from a passage in St. Augustine's *Confessions*, where he is in an agony of repentance, to a passage on *acedia* by Cassian, rich in delightful though unconscious comedy. It is gratifying too to find so much space given to that most convincing of modern mystics, Lucie Christine. As a spiritual bedside book this would be hard to excel.

A. L.

MEANING AND TRUTH IN THE ARTS. By John Hospers. North Carolina University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege. 1947. 22s.

Dr. Hospers has written a book on a problem of the greatest importance for aesthetics and yet awaiting a solution that will win general assent. A work of art is admittedly

not a faithful reproduction of reality. What meaning then can it have? What reference can fiction have to reality? And since reality is truth, what relation can art have to truth? If on the other hand it has no reference to reality or truth, but is meaningless, how can it influence the mind?

In discussing this question Dr. Hospers has had to encounter two groups of modern theorists. Unfortunately one of these groups has misled him into a false subtlety of method. Probably Richards and Ogden set the pace with their work entitled *The Meaning of Meaning*. It escaped them that the problem of the meaning of meaning is itself meaningless unless you already know the meaning of meaning. Anyhow Dr. Hospers discovers many meanings of meaning without attempting to discern which is proper, which are more or less analogical, and which are simply conventional mistakes. He finally decides that the meaning of a work of art is the effect that it can produce on the beholder. It is unlikely that this definition will gain wide acceptance. But no one can deny that Dr. Hospers, though obliged to define his terms, has a right to define them as he pleases, even if one regrets that he takes so long to make up his mind.

His discussion of truth in art is more satisfactory. He contends that a work of art is not true *about* reality but true *to* reality. Being true *to* reality is being conformed not to any particular real thing but to the essences of real things. It seems to mean insight into the eternal laws and truths of things. Yet it is not knowledge in the sense of propositional truth. Nor is it knowledge of things as they are in themselves; for, says the author surprisingly, "*as it is* seems to be a metaphysical state quite unattainable to observation and, to me at least, quite meaningless". He concludes that art therefore is true to *experience*, to that ordinary experience that is our life.

Dr. Hospers is opposed therefore to the second group of theorists, though he extends to them the olive branch of compromise. These, of whom Clive Bell is perhaps the most celebrated, contend that art has no meaning. Its purport is no more than an arrangement of sense-data such as to gratify the special pictorial or musical faculties. This postulation of special aesthetic faculties required by the doctrine that the object of artistic pleasure is pure form is a *deus ex machina*. A special sense is invented to explain pleasure in what cannot give pleasure to the senses discovered by psychologists. But the mainstay of the doctrine that the object of artistic pleasure is pure form is that music, for instance, can mean nothing and therefore can only give pleasure by a pattern or form of tones successive (or melodic) and simultaneous (or harmonic). Yet the only argument for the contention that music can mean nothing seems to be that it is hard precisely to analyse our reaction to it in terms of ordinary experience; what is hard to understand does not exist!

This book therefore, though it it too diffuse and not as precise in its conclusions as it could be, will be useful to art lovers. It opens up a fundamental problem of aesthetics, indicates at least vaguely a solution that will attract the attention of serious thinkers, and warns them by its copious quotations of many writers from whom they may expect little guidance. A. L.

University College
DUBLIN

A Constituent College of
The National University of Ireland

SESSION 1947-48

THE College provides Courses for the Degrees of the National University of Ireland in the Faculties of Arts, Philosophy, Celtic Studies, Science, Law, Medicine, Engineering and Architecture, and Commerce.

The following Regulations for the College Courses, etc., may be obtained on application :—

1. General Regulations, Scholarships, Fees.
2. Courses for Degrees in Arts, Philosophy, Celtic Studies.
3. Courses for Degrees in Science.
4. Courses for Degrees in Law.
5. Courses for Degrees in Medicine and Dentistry.
6. Courses for Degrees in Engineering and Architecture.
7. Courses for Degrees in Commerce.

College Scholarships and Prizes to the value of about £3,500 (not including Scholarships provided by the Corporation of Dublin and by the County Councils) are open to competition amongst Student-Members of the College.

Letters in reference to Courses of Study should be addressed to the Registrar of the College, Earlsfort Terrace. All Students' Fees due to the College are to be paid to the SECRETARY, University College, Dublin.

The College Offices at Earlsfort Terrace are open daily.

GIVE HIM *Wolsey* SOCKS

Choice of **Ribbed** *and Plain.*
Fine, Medium and Heavy.

Advertisement *of Sunbeam Wolsey Ltd., Cork.*

Telegrams—"HOSIERY, DUBLIN." Telephone No. 77770.

KENNEDY & McSHARRY

Shirt Makers, Hosiers, Hatters
and General Outfitters. :: ::

24 WESTMORELAND STREET,
—— And 3 D'OLIER STREET, DUBLIN

THE NEED STILL EXISTS
TO SOW GOOD SEEDS

ROWANS

"Fulcrop" Seeds are Good Seeds,
and such as will ensure
BOUNTIFUL RESULTS

New Seasons Catalogue of Vegetable and Flower Seeds, and Garden Sundries presented or posted free on request.

M. ROWAN & CO., LTD.,
The "House of Rowan"
SEED GROWERS & SEED MERCHANTS
51-52 CAPEL STREET,
1-2 WESTMORELAND STREET,
DUBLIN

FARRELL'S

Telephone 73426.

FUNERAL AND CARRIAGE ESTABLISHMENT
:: SALOON MOTOR HEARSES and CARS ::

66 MARLBOROUGH STREET

Established over 100 Years. DUBLIN

Too good to waste . . .

★

KENNEDYS *Bread*

Padbury

ALEX. THOM & CO., LTD.

PRINTERS, PUBLISHERS,
BOOKBINDERS, STATIONERS

LARGE RESOURCES FOR PRINTING IN GAELIC

Books, Magazines and Periodicals
produced by Latest Methods.

Try "THOM'S" for your next Printing Order. Our Service and our Prices will please you. "Studies" is a specimen of our work. :: ::

Head Offices: CROW STREET

WORKS :: :: BOTANIC ROAD, GLASNEVIN

CLERYS
NEW POLICY

Mr. Denis Guiney's policy of lower profits and bargain prices always is now in full force in every department of this great store. The same quality you have been used to getting now sells at keenly competitive prices.

Dine in CLERYS RESTAURANT

Popular 4 course Luncheon served from 12.30 to 3.30 p.m. Special teas from 4 p.m.

CLERYS of DUBLIN

CLERY & CO., (1941) LTD. *Managing Director* DENIS GUINEY

McEvoys.

ODEAREST
Sanitized INNERSPRING MATTRESSES

for the rest of your life!

Trade Enquiries to :—
O'DEA & COMPANY, LTD.
Wolfe Tone St. and Capel St.
DUBLIN

ESTABLISHED 1824

T. W. & J. KELLY, LTD.

Oldest House for Pure Altar Wines

Price List on application

Offices and Vaults :—

58 UPPER O'CONNELL STREET, DUBLIN

Telephone No.: 73095 *Telegrams : "Threekays, Dublin"*

No connection with any other firm of the same name

T. & C. MARTIN LTD.

D'Olier House, Dublin

IRISH-MADE

Church and School Furniture

Telephone
Dublin 71571 (P.B.Exch.)

Telegrams
"Martin, Dublin"

Works: **NORTH WALL, DUBLIN**

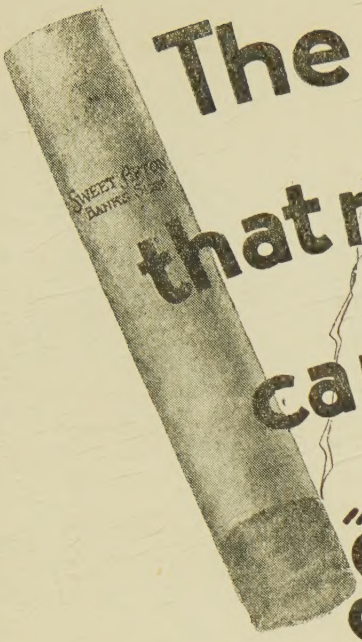
D. MURPHY LTD.

PROVISION MERCHANTS

Over half a century's reputation

25-26 MARY'S ABBEY, DUBLIN

PHONE: DUBLIN 75171



The best that money can buy

"SWEET AFTON"
CIGARETTES

If you study dietetics . . .

Students of dietetics discovered years ago that, for genuine health-giving nourishment, cheese stands in a class of its own. People more concerned with flavour have discovered that there is no cheese made that can compare with any of the now famous three—Galtee, the cream cheese, Whitethorn, the delicious gruyere, and Three Counties, the new spreadable cheese. Remember *for health* and flavour they are unbeatable.

GALTEE, WHITETHORN
and
THREE COUNTIES

Mitchelstown Creameries, Mitchelstown, Co. Cork

PRINTED BY SEALY, BRYERS & WALKER DUBLIN